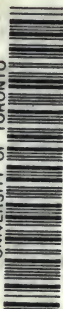


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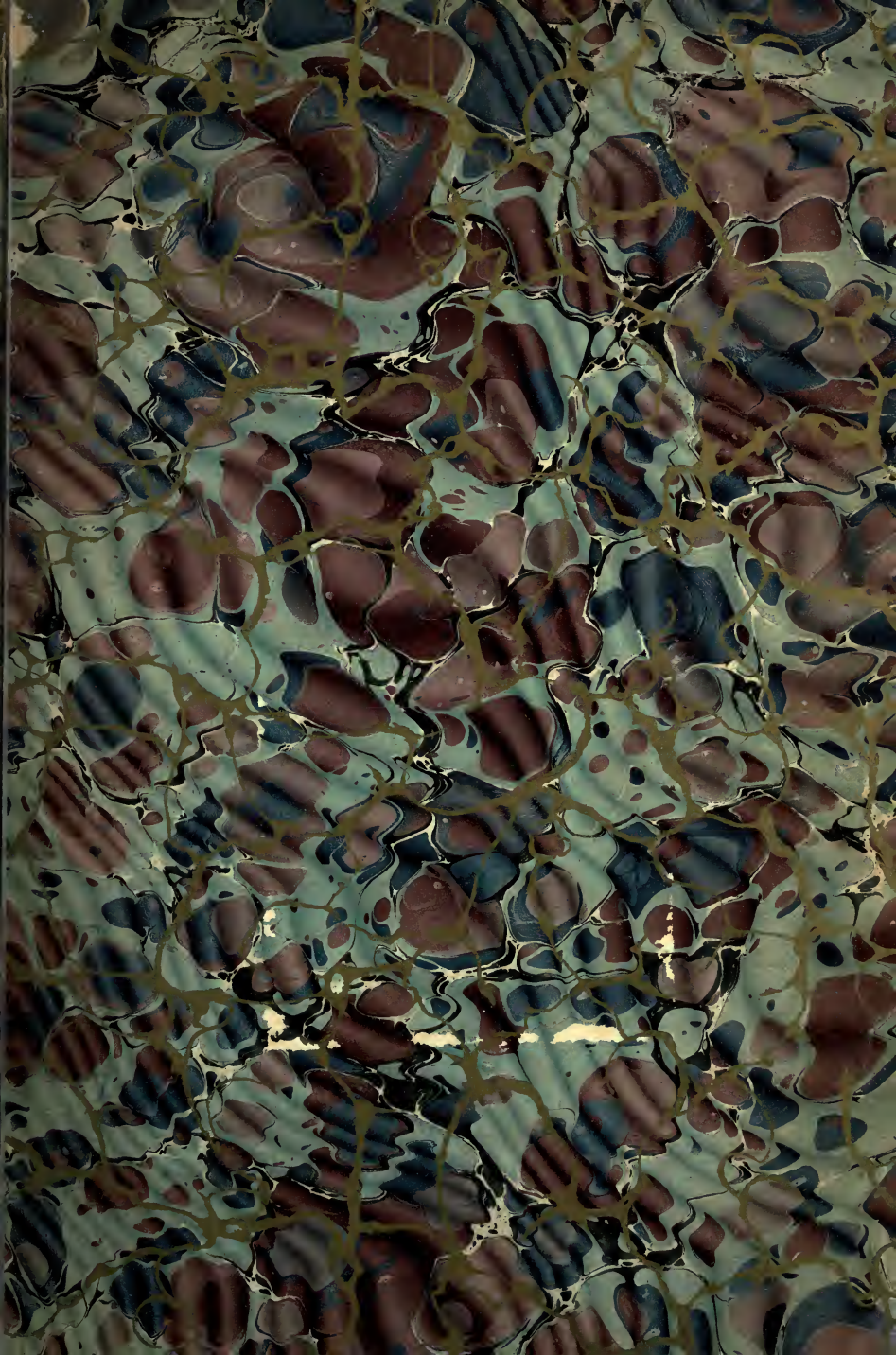
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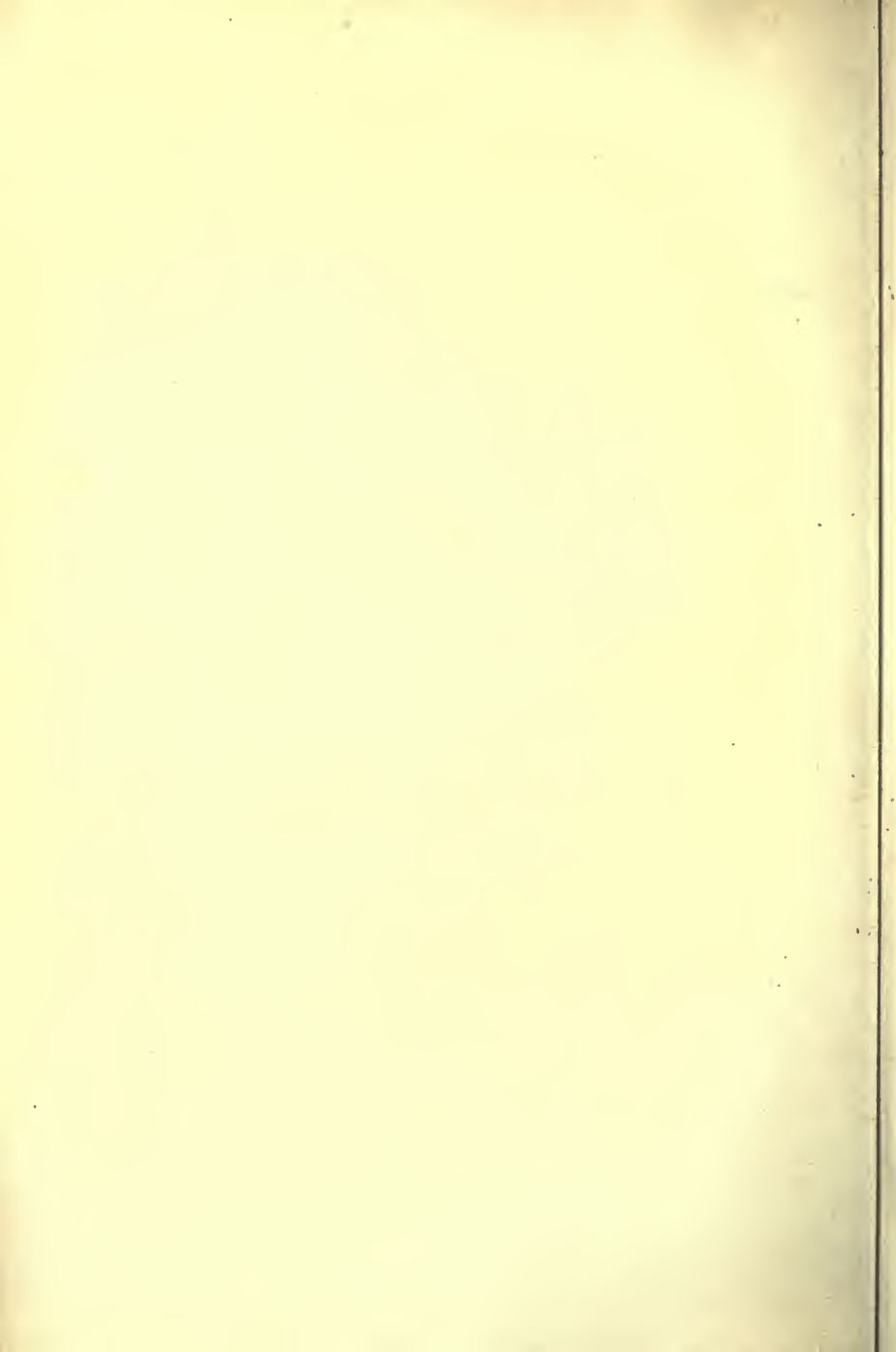


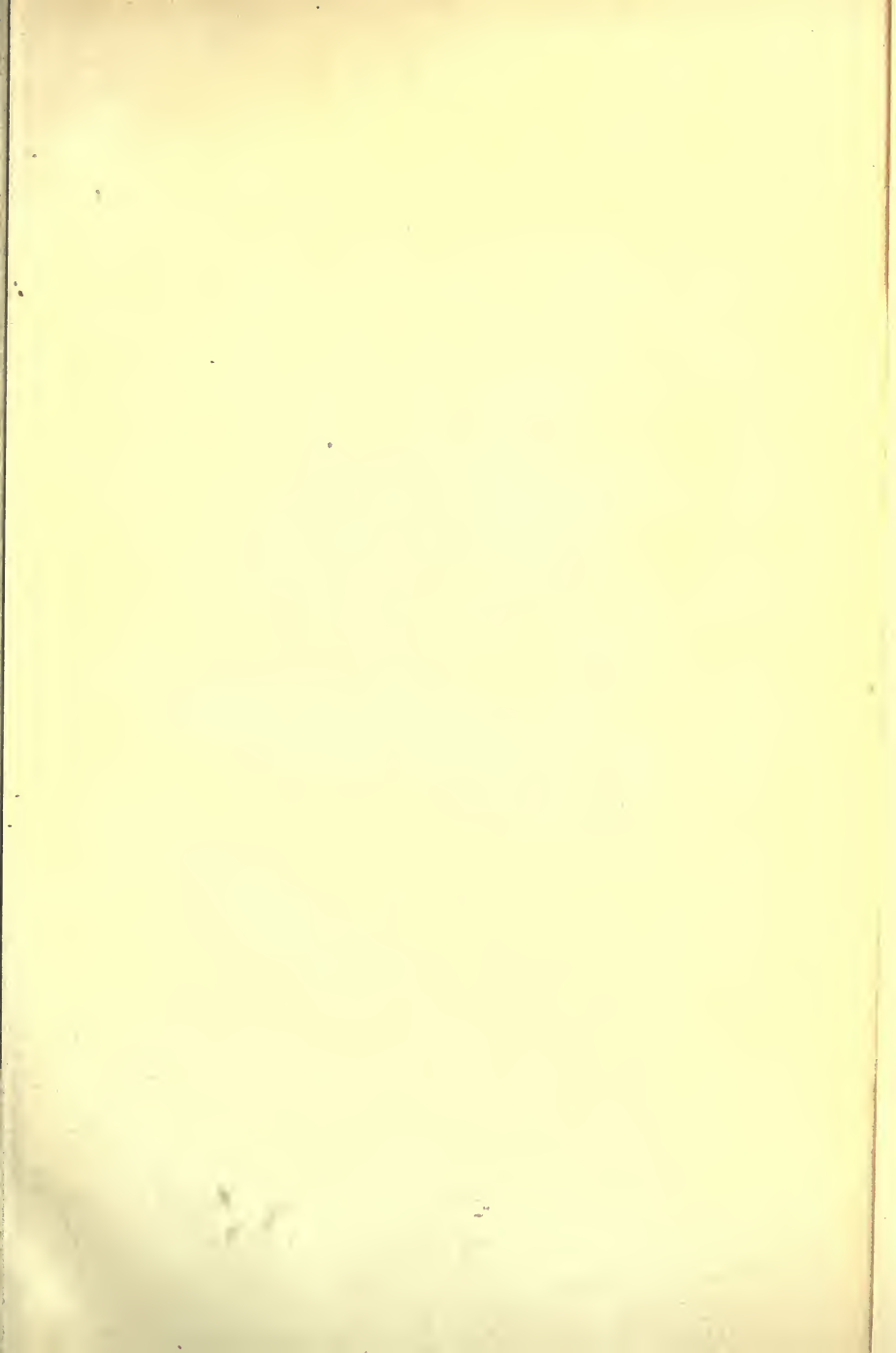


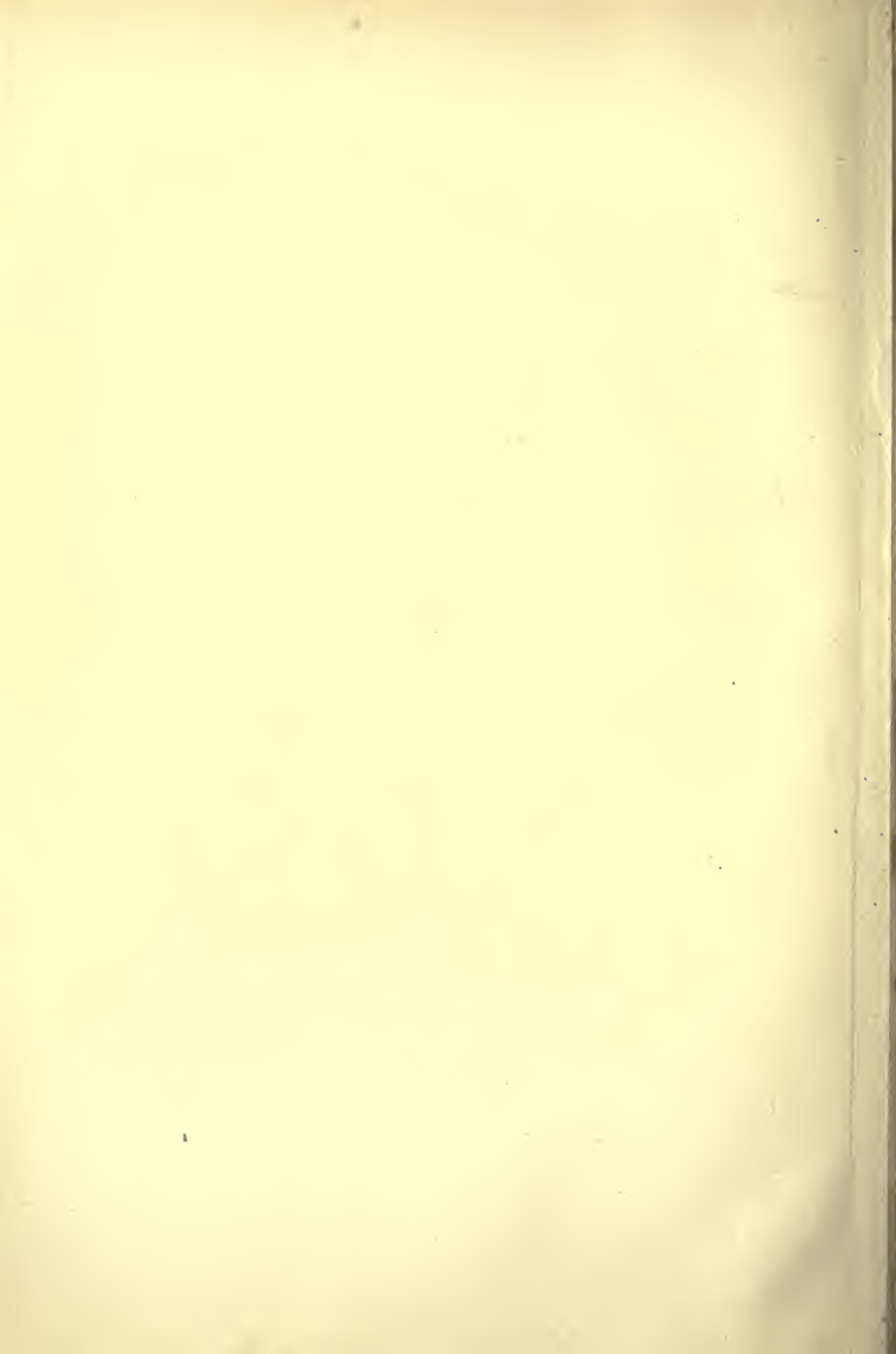
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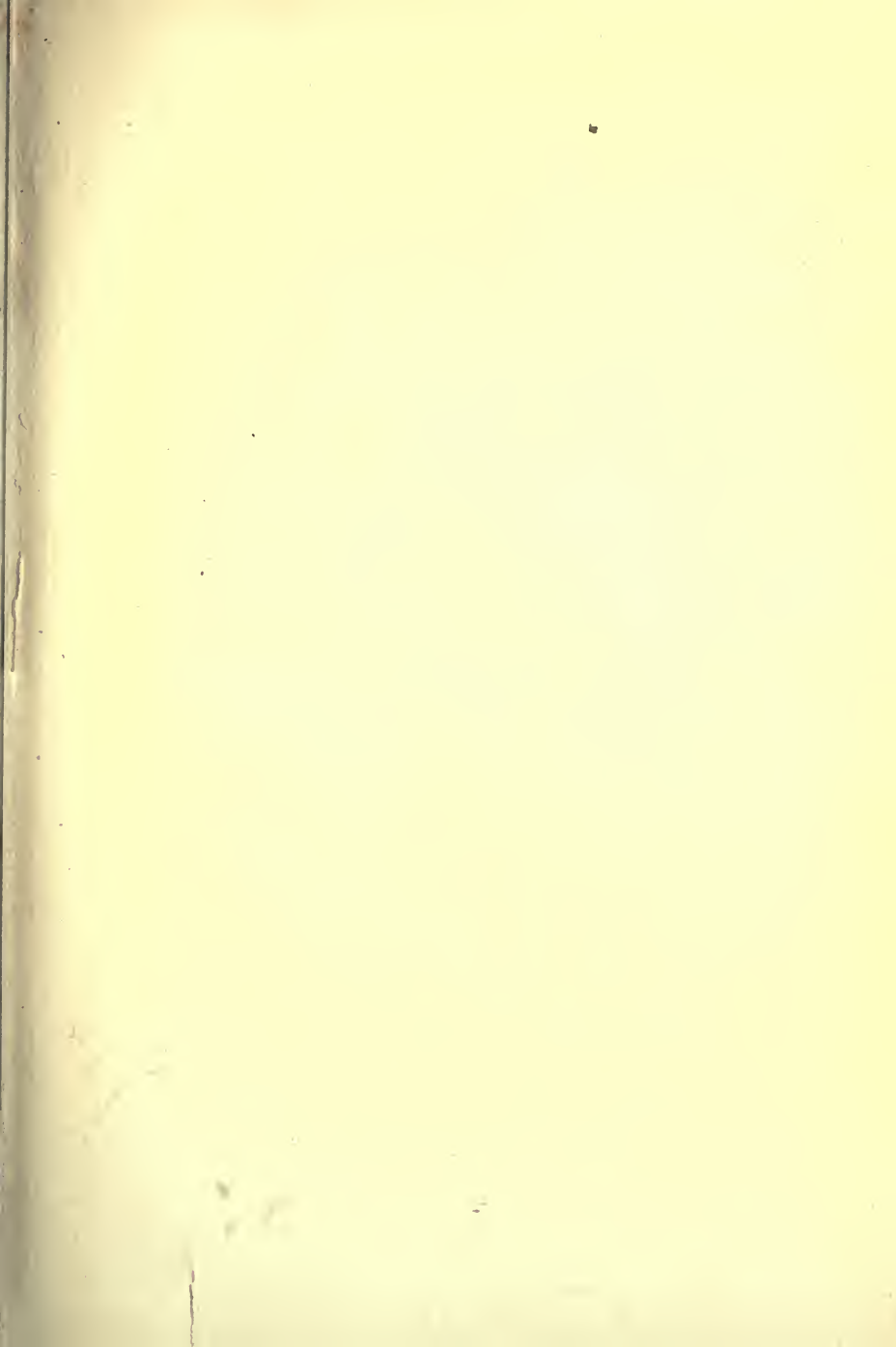
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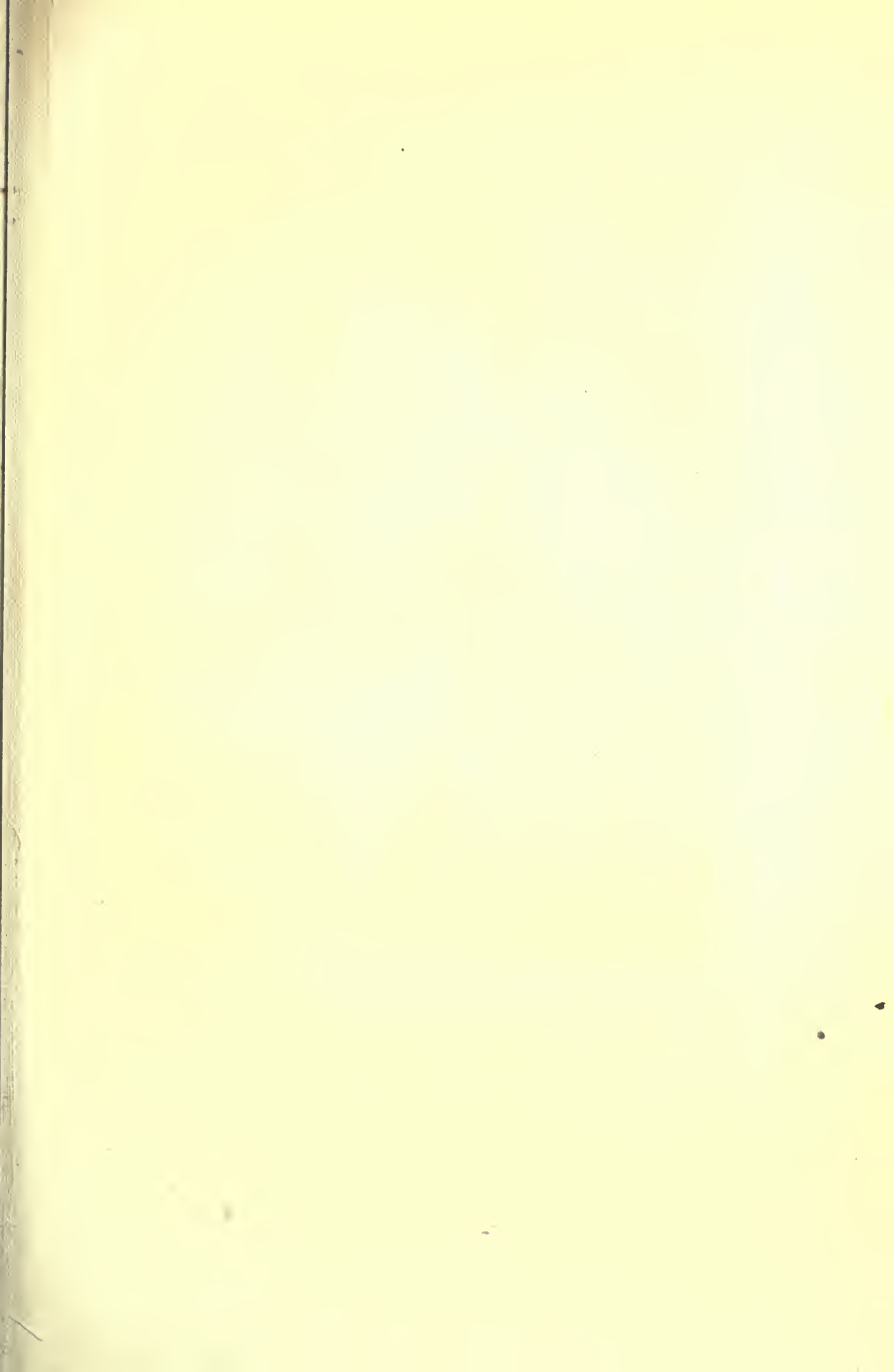














A

HISTORY OF FRANCE

BY

VICTOR DURUY

MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

*ABRIDGED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE
SEVENTEENTH FRENCH EDITION*

By MRS. M. CAREY

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTICE AND A CONTINUATION
TO THE YEAR 1896

By J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

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TWELFTH PERIOD.

THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNAL ORDER BY ROYALTY, AND THE SECOND STRUGGLE OF FRANCE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA (1598-1659).

CHAPTER XLVII.

REORGANIZATION OF FRANCE BY HENRY IV.

(1598-1610 A.D.)

State of France. — In 1598 Henry IV. had driven out the foreigners, reconciled Catholics and Protestants, and established peace in the interior and on the frontiers. It was now necessary to heal all the wounds that France had received. A contemporary estimated that since 1580 eight hundred thousand persons had perished by war and massacre; that nine cities had been levelled with the ground, two hundred and fifty villages burned, and one hundred and twenty-eight thousand houses destroyed. And since that period, which preceded the formation of the League, how numerous were the ruins of another sort! Workmen without work, commerce interrupted, agriculture desolated, robbery everywhere; and from the midst of all this desolation Henry IV. must endeavor to resuscitate France. The nobility had proposed one way out of the difficulty; they offered him all the money necessary for the government and for the maintenance of the army, on condition of a virtual restoration of feudalism. This was far from according with Henry's designs.

Sully. — Henry had already fixed upon the man who should aid him in this work, more difficult than that of battle-fields: a man of strong good sense, a brave heart, and

above all a well-balanced mind, the Protestant Maximilian of Béthune, afterwards Duke of Sully. He was born in the castle of Rosny, near Mantes, in 1560. At the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew he was studying in Paris, but escaped by presence of mind. He attached himself to the king of Navarre, followed him through all his adventures and battles, showing himself as brave as the bravest. He was not a knight after the fashion of the paladins of romance; for while he attended thoroughly to his master's business, he had an eye to his own affairs, married a wealthy heiress, and did not scorn the emoluments of war. But in his devotion to the prince and the State, this prudent manager cut down his forests of Rosny, and gave the money thus procured to Henry in his need; and the zealous Protestant counselled the king to end the war by avowing himself a Catholic.

In 1596 Henry appointed him a member of the financial council, and after the peace of Vervins he held the position of superintendent of finances and grand overseer of the roads of France (1598), then that of grand master of the artillery (1601). He preserved his honesty and his rectitude of character as well as his religion, and was the friend as well as the minister of the king.

Financial Reforms. — The disorder of the finances was extreme. The public debt was estimated at 345,000,000. France paid annually more than 170,000,000 in taxes. The net revenue scarcely amounted to 30,000,000, of which 19,000,000 had to be deducted to meet the engagements of the State. Almost all the royal domain was mortgaged. From one end to the other of the financial administration there was theft. Sully undertook to have reports made on every point, to have accurate accounts kept, to establish a balance between receipts and expenditures, to take inventories of all the resources of the country, province by province, and of all branches of service, and to fix the annual budget of expenses. The proceeds of the principal taxes were thus almost doubled without any additional expense to the country. A court of justice prosecuted dishonest agents, and the tax-collectors were forced to keep strict accounts. The governors had been in the habit of levying arbitrary taxes in their provinces; the lords, upon their vassals. He put an end to the profits thus derived by these pilferers, and the taxes imposed by the king were consequently more produc-

tive. He revised all claims against the state, annulled many, and reduced the interest from $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. He took an account of all the leases on which the public taxes were farmed, and raised the price of them. A number of useless offices, fraudulent annuities, and illegal exemptions were suppressed, and others diminished in magnitude. Many persons who had taken upon themselves the title of noble were restored to the class of taxables. Hereditary tenure of office, officially constituted in 1504, by the annual payment of the *paulette*, was a less honorable device, but that also helped the treasury. The great strictness in matter of receipts was balanced by a wise economy in matters of expenditure. Consequently at the end of the reign of Henry IV. his government had paid 147,000,000 of debts, bought back 80,000,000 of domains, cut off 8,000,000 of annuities, reduced the taxation from 30,000,000 to 26,000,000, of which the treasury realized 20,000,000, spent 40,000,000 in fortifications or on public works, made provision for the service for the current year, and amassed a reserve of 20,000,000 livres.

Agriculture. — Henry IV. took an equal interest in the three sources of public wealth, — agriculture, commerce, and industry; Sully was more exclusively in favor of agriculture. He went twice through all the provinces (1596 and 1598), so as to study for himself the needs of the country, and in 1600 remitted to the people their arrears of the *tailles*, amounting to 20,000,000, and reduced the land-tax 1,800,000 livres. Finally, in 1601, he permitted the exportation of grain—a bold measure for this period, but a very wise one, which would enrich the country instead of impoverishing it. He also favored the draining of marshes.

A Protestant gentleman of Languedoc, Olivier de Serres, deserves to be called the father of French agriculture, on account of the rules he laid down in his *Théâtre de l'Agriculture* and his *Ménage des Champs*, and which he put into practice himself on his model farm. When Henry IV. received his book he ordered a certain number of pages to be read to him every day after his dinner. Many others read it and followed the advice which it gave. Thus farming made rapid progress, and until the wars of Louis XIV. French agriculturists took the lead in Europe. There was not a single year of scarcity from 1598 to 1626.

Industry and Commerce. — Sully thought that field labor

made men good soldiers. The worthy gentleman feared that manufacturing industry would weaken the French. He was entirely opposed to the importation of foreign industries and modes of cultivation. Henry IV. was of a different opinion. He endeavored to establish in France the raising of the silkworm. A similar purpose is evinced in the foundation of manufactories of the fine crape of Bologna, of gold thread of the kind made at Milan; of high-warp tapestries, of gilt leather, glass, crystal, mirrors, and linen of the Dutch style, etc. This was a more successful plan for keeping money in the kingdom than Sully's prohibitions of its export had been. In 1604 the king convoked an *assembly of commerce*. Among other things proposed by it was a general reformation of the guilds and trade corporations.

Maritime Affairs; Colonies. — The military marine developed by Francis I. had fallen very low. Sully had no aversion to the navy; but he did not desire colonies for France, and would willingly have left to the people of Spain, the Netherlands, and England the care of conquering and peopling distant countries. Henry IV. was more far-sighted than his minister; in order to encourage trade with North America, he sent Champlain to Canada to found Port Royal (now Annapolis) in 1604, and Quebec in 1608. Henry even planned the establishment of an East India Company which should rival those established by England and Holland. He did not live to realize this project, but he signed an advantageous commercial treaty with Turkey.

Public Works; the Canal of Briare. — Many roads were laid out by Sully. The plan of the great canals which have since been cut throughout France was then conceived. One only was finished, — that of Briare. This was the first, except in Italy, which had locks uniting two levels; its length is fifty-five kilometers, and it connects the Loire and the Seine.

The Army. — In 1595 there were only four regular regiments; Henry increased them to eleven. But the custom of hiring foreign troops continued. The cavalry continued to form much the larger part of the army, the nobility being unwilling to serve as infantry. The artillery under Sully's management assumed great importance. Since 1572 no lord had been allowed to have cannon in his castle without express permission from the king. Sully caused a

number of fortresses to be repaired, and stocked the arsenals which had been left empty by the civil war.

Arts and Letters under Henry IV. — Though not loving the arts as Francis I., Henry II., and Charles IX. had done, Henry IV. appreciated the fact that they shed lustre upon the reign of a king. He therefore accepted the heritage of the Renaissance, which had unhappily now come almost to its decay. He had much work done upon the château of Fontainebleau; at Saint-Germain he constructed the new château. He began two new pavilions at the Tuileries, and intended extending the great gallery of the Louvre so far as to join that palace. He finished also the front of the Hôtel de Ville and the Pont Neuf, commenced under Henry III. In 1604 was laid the corner-stone of the Palais Royal at Paris, in which appears the mixed structure of brick, stone, and slate, — a style revived from ancient Italian architecture.

The Renaissance abandons its capricious liberty; method, regularity, and law everywhere replace the bold and often irregular but powerful and original independence of the sixteenth century. In politics, the royal authority was advancing toward that irresistible power which was established by Richelieu and Louis XIV. In literature, also, a king arose; a tyrant of words and syllables, — Malherbe, a refined and tasteful scholar, rather than a great poet. A regulator of expressions and ideas, Malherbe produced but little besides odes and stanzas; but in most of his works he attained perfection of form, and a few of his pieces are, even in thought and feeling, perfect models. He firmly established among the French the poetic language and style which were used by Corneille, Racine, and Boileau.

The satirist, Mathurin Régnier, with his fantastic energy, revolted against Malherbe; but in vain. Discipline would have its way in letters as well as in the State. Régnier wrote satires in verse; the heir of Marot, with more malice, and a style which was often perfect, he dealt only with the ridiculous side of character, and did not go beneath the surface of things. The verse and prose writings of D'Aubigné, in spite of their real merits, are rather political efforts than literary works. The fiery Protestant continues with his pen the battle which he had so valiantly sustained with his sword. One ought also to mention, in connection with Henry IV., the *Satire Ménippée*.

Popularity of the King ; Conspiracies. — The solicitude of Henry IV. for the prosperity of France had acquired for him a well-deserved popularity. The brilliant qualities of his mind and heart concealed weaknesses which, indeed, were easily forgiven by the people; they saw in him only the king who promised the disabled soldiers an asylum, and the peasant a chicken in the pot every Sunday.

But if the people blessed him, it was not so with certain parties and certain men, who were more dissatisfied with his strong policies than with all his faults. They forgave him his mistresses and his bastards: that sort of thing had been seen in every reign. Nevertheless, the favor shown to Gabrielle d'Estrées and Henriette d'Entraigues, forgotten promises, services rendered the king of Navarre which the king of France was unable to repay, caused some to murmur; and his intense desire to be king in everything drove others into conspiracies.

The most celebrated of the conspiracies was that of Marshal Biron, in which foreigners also had a hand. The Duke of Savoy and the king of Spain endeavored to incite the French nobles to revolt. The proud Biron, who had been created marshal, duke, a peer of France, and governor of Burgundy, considered these rewards still insufficient for his services, and so allowed himself to be seduced into treason. Once before, in 1601, Henry had pardoned him, and he would have pardoned him a second time if Biron would have agreed to the conditions that he demanded. Irritated by his obstinacy, and wishing to make him an example to the nobility, he allowed his sentence to be executed: Biron was beheaded (1602).

Plan for the Reorganization of Europe. — Spain had reason to be alarmed, for the power of the house of Austria was the continual subject of Henry's meditations. Sully suggested to him a plan for the reorganization of Europe, which was doubtless talked of, but the realization of which Henry was too clear-sighted to expect. The king, says Sully, desired to drive the house of Austria from the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany; to make of Hungary, with the addition of the Austrian provinces, a powerful kingdom; to give Lombardy to Savoy, Sicily to Venice; to form of the peninsula of Italy one great state having the Pope for its chief; to make Genoa and Florence, with the small neighboring lordships, into a republic. Europe, then, with

six hereditary kingdoms, — France, Spain, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Lombardy; with five elective governments, — Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, the Empire, and the Papacy; with four republics, — Venice, Genoa and Florence, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, — would have formed one great republic, having a supreme council of deputies from all the states, whose duty should be to prevent encroachments and collisions. Henry would have asked nothing for France, excepting French-speaking districts, Savoy, Lorraine, Belgium, and Franche-Comté.

His designs upon the last two were capable of present execution. In order to accomplish them he counted on the alliance of England, on the Protestants of the Netherlands, and on those of Germany, the Evangelical Union. The Duke of Cleves and Jülich had just died. Protestants and Catholics were already disputing for that rich possession; this afforded an opportunity to interfere and to begin a war which the increasing hatred of the two religious parties in the Empire was making inevitable. The most extensive preparations were made; forty thousand men advanced towards the frontiers of Champagne.

Assassination of Henry IV. (1610). — The alliance of Henry with the Protestants and the Turks alarmed the extreme Catholics. In vain he endeavored to preserve the friendship of the Pope, of whom he had obtained a divorce from Margaret of Valois, in order to marry, in 1600, the Pope's own niece, Mary de' Medici. In vain he had, in 1603, allowed the Jesuits to return to France, and granted their order the right to teach. In spite of all this, he was, in the eyes of many, the enemy of religion, and of this François Ravallac, a fanatic, was fully persuaded.

Henry was anxious and sad; reports of plots reached him constantly; already nineteen attempts to assassinate him had been frustrated; he had cause to fear a twentieth. Before setting out for the war he yielded to the entreaties of his wife, who was anxious to be crowned. Ideas of impending assassination never left him. On the 14th of May, being urged to go to ride in order to shake off these gloomy feelings, he took an open carriage. He took with him the dukes of Épernon and Montbazon, and five other lords, with no escort; only a few gentlemen on horseback and a few footmen followed him. He drove towards the Arsenal, where he intended to visit Sully, who was ill. A blockade

of vehicles on the way stopped the coach. Ravallac, who had followed him on foot from the Louvre, jumped up upon a post and struck the king. "I am wounded," he cried, and threw up his arms. This movement exposed his left side, and the assassin dealt a second blow which pierced his heart. The king fell back without uttering a cry: he was dead. Ravallac made no attempt to fly, and it was with difficulty that the people were prevented from tearing him in pieces. Two weeks after he was put to death with horrible tortures.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LOUIS XIII.

(1610-1643 A.D.)

Regency of Mary de' Medici. — Sully was expecting the king at the Arsenal, when a gentleman of his household came rushing in and said, "The king is fatally wounded." "My God!" exclaimed Sully, "have pity on him, on us, and on the State. If he dies, France will fall into strange hands!"

Louis XIII. was not nine years old; custom assigned the regency to the mothers of kings. Mary de' Medici, who was a foreigner and felt that she was not beloved by the French people, thought it necessary that a sort of legal sanction should be given to her authority. She addressed herself to the Parliament of Paris, as if these magistrates were representatives of the country. Ordered by Épernon to declare her regent, the magistrates obeyed; later they remembered how a queen had recognized their right to dispose of royal authority.

At first nothing appeared changed in the political system of France. Mary de' Medici retained the ministers of the preceding reign, including Sully. The projects of Henry IV. were apparently carried out under his administration: a royal declaration confirmed the edict of Nantes, and an army of ten thousand men went to take possession of Jülich for the Protestant princes, the allies of France.

Abandonment of the Policy of Henry IV.; Concini. — But it happened, as it generally does when queens are kings, that affairs were subordinated to persons, which is a course of things directly opposed to true statesmanship. The government became feeble and capricious. With a minor king, an incapable regent, a divided court, and turbulent princes, the action of France in foreign affairs was of course neutralized for a long time. Finding it necessary to make peace, Mary de' Medici turned towards the Spaniards; she opened negotiations for the double marriage of her son with the

infanta and the prince of Spain with her daughter. Sully, opposing this new policy, was removed by the queen (1611). He died in 1641.

The queen had for a long time confided in the Florentine Concini, who had great influence over her through his wife, Leonora Galigaï. This woman, the daughter of a carpenter, was the queen's foster-sister, and had acquired an extraordinary influence over her. The authority of the queen-regent was shaken when an incapable foreigner took the place of the superior statesman who for twenty years had been associated with the good and evil fortunes of the house of Bourbon. The great nobles were allowed to plunder; Concini filled his pockets from the treasury, bought the marquisate of Ancres and the offices of first gentleman of the chamber, lieutenant-general of Péronne, Amiens, and Dieppe, and put a finishing touch to his insolent success by taking the title of marshal, though he had never been present on a field of battle. Leonora, on her part, worked for the general good by selling pardons.

First Revolt of the Nobles (1614).—The pretensions of the nobles increased with the weakness of the government. What they really wanted was provincial governorships for themselves and their families, cautionary towns, and the dismemberment of France. Many of the lords, on learning of the assassination, had shut themselves up in the most convenient cities, and some of them would not come out again. "The day of the kings has passed," they said, "this is the day of the lords." The first refusal by the queen-regent led to civil war. Condé took up arms and published a manifesto in which he accused the court of having lowered the nobility, ruined the finances, and oppressed the poor people. He ended, as was usual, by demanding the convocation of the States-General for the purpose of reforming the abuses. A great number of the lords ranged themselves under his flag, and at their head were the dukes of Vendôme, Longueville, Luxemburg, and Mayenne. Since the time of the States of the League there had been a great lull in the popular passions. The party of the *politiques*, which was born under L'Hôpital, and came into power under Henry IV., comprised almost all the professional men and the lower classes. The experience so cruelly bought by the civil war had not been without effect. The nation compared the thirty-eight years of massacre and pillage with the twelve

years of prosperity which they had enjoyed while rallying around the throne, and left the great lords to work out among themselves their fruitless ambitions. Some of the old ministers of Henry IV. counselled the queen to take vigorous measures, but she preferred to treat at Sainte-Menehould (May, 1614). The Prince of Condé received 450,000 livres in money; the Duke of Mayenne, 300,000, "that he might marry"; Monsieur de Longueville, 100,000 livres, as a pension, etc. Nothing was done for "the poor people."

The States-General (1614). — The assembly of the States-General convened at Paris, Oct. 14, 1614. It was their last meeting until 1789. Among the deputies was a prelate of twenty-nine years of age, Armand Duplessis de Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, who had already won such a reputation in his profession as to be appointed orator by the clergy, on the day of the presentation of memorials (*cahiers*).

The three orders were not in accord. The orator of the bourgeoisie having dared to say that the French people formed one large family of which the lords were the elder branch, and the Third Estate the younger, the nobility considered the speech an affront and complained to the king. The clergy refused to take up any part of the public burdens, saying that it would be detracting from the glory of God.

There was no greater harmony in the desires of the assembly. The clergy demanded the introduction into France of all the decrees of the council of Trent, which Parliament had thus far repudiated. The nobility insisted on the suppression of the *paulette* which, in establishing heredity of offices, had inaugurated the *noblesse de robe*. The Third Estate desired that the pensions paid to the great lords, which exceeded five millions and a half in amount, should be reduced, and that the ultramontane doctrines taught by some of the bishops should be condemned. It was not difficult for the ministers to profit by these divisions; they caused the building in which the States held their assembly to be closed.

The assembly of 1614 does not deserve the discredit into which it has fallen; it accomplished nothing, but it showed the progress of political education among the upper bourgeoisie. The speeches of their orators revealed a practical business intelligence and a desire for wise innovations which is astonishing. They demanded the summoning of

a general assembly of the kingdom at least every ten years, freedom of city elections, security for, and extension of, municipal privileges. In matters of finance, the Third Estate desired a just division of the public burdens among the citizens, and the suppression of useless offices;¹ with regard to justice, the equality of all in the eyes of the law, the enfranchisement of serfs, the abolition of exceptional tribunals, a mode of trial less slow and costly; in respect to commerce and industry, the suppression of internal customs duties, wardenships and masterships, freedom of trade throughout the kingdom, and the establishment of protective duties on imported foreign merchandise; in respect to the nobility, the reduction of the number of military offices, the abolition of new titles, the suppression of fortresses in the interior of the kingdom, of useless or excessive pensions, and the strict repression of duels; in respect to the Church, a more impartial distribution of its income, at the expense of the excessively opulent benefices, and for the benefit of the very poor curacies, obligatory residence imposed on the bishops, and their appointment by the king from among three nominees. Such were the principal projects of reform proposed by the Third Estate. No attention was paid to them at that time. It is the work of ages to force into the mind of the masses what wise men have long dreamed of. But without speaking of the revolutionary assembly of 1356, one can trace a continuous progress of the national tradition through all the various vicissitudes from 1484 to 1614. Richelieu, Colbert, Turgot, would not treat it with scorn, but would seek to satisfy some of its repeated demands; the rest were to await the day when the nation should take up, of her own accord, all these desires of past generations, in order to do justice to them and to many others.

Fresh Revolt of the Nobles; Treaty of Loudun (1615-1616). — The malcontents, after having exhausted the money extorted by their first revolt, began a second, under the pretext that the demands of the States had not been complied with. This time Condé induced the Protestants to join in. The Duke of Rohan aroused the people of the Cévennes.

¹ The people then paid thirty-five millions of taxes, of which only 16,200,000 ever reached the treasury; and the minister estimated that the king needed nineteen millions for maintenance of his dignity and his household. Of this, one-half was spent for the court and the nobility.

The court was then occupied with the preparations for a journey to Bordeaux, where the king was to receive his betrothed bride, the infanta Anne of Austria, and to which he was to escort his sister, who was to espouse at the same time the prince of Spain. During the whole journey the court had been followed and often harassed by the soldiers of Condé and Rohan; it purchased a new peace at Loudun (May, 1616). Louis acknowledged the prince and his friends to be good and loyal subjects, and paid the troops which had been levied against him. Condé alone received 1,500,000 livres. Each revolt was more profitable to him. This one had cost the State more than twenty millions.

First Administration of Richelieu; Arrest of Condé (1616).

— The queen reorganized the administration; the bishop of Luçon, whom the States of 1614 had brought into prominence, became grand almoner of the household, then a member of the council, where he attracted great attention. Concini found that the young prelate “knew more than all the graybeards.” He bestowed upon him one of the “four offices of the house and crown of France,” with the charge of foreign affairs. Rigorous measures were immediately adopted; the Prince of Condé was arrested in the Louvre itself, and thrown into the Bastille; his followers, who endeavored to arouse Paris and the neighboring provinces, “heard themselves addressed in a tone which sounded more like His Royal Majesty than recent doings.” Richelieu loved to address himself to public opinion. In a sort of manifesto he showed how the great nobles had been “seeking to establish a separate tyranny in each province.” The princes and their followers were declared guilty of lese-majesty, and deprived of their dignities: three armies were sent into Picardy, Champagne, and Berry to crush the revolt. The royal cause would have triumphed this time if the king had not joined the malcontents in order to overthrow the ministry and escape from tutelage.

Death of Concini (1617). — Concini had only a vulgar ambition. He loved money; the possession of power frightened him. He knew he was hated and threatened; but it was from an unsuspected source that the danger came. Louis XIII. was then sixteen years old. This prince, whose character was gloomy and morose, lived in seclusion, kept away from affairs of state by his mother and Concini, and surrounded only by a few pages to whom he was attached.

He formed a great friendship for his falconer, a young son of a provincial family, named Albert de Luynes. The king's favorite conceived the hope of displacing the queen's. A secret conspiracy was entered into by Louis XIII., his falconer, and his gardener; Vitry, the captain of the guards, received an order to arrest Concini and to kill him if he resisted. Accompanied by twenty gentlemen, Vitry met Marshal d'Ancre as the latter was going into the Louvre. He told him that he arrested him by the king's command, and at the same moment they shot him dead. The king appeared at the window, and the Louvre resounded with cries of "Long live the king!"

Leonora Galigai was accused of peculation, of plotting against the State, and above all of sorcery. She was beheaded in the Place de Grève, and her body was thrown into the flames. Mary de' Medici was ordered to leave the court and retire to Blois; Richelieu was exiled to his bishopric (1617).

Government of Albert de Luynes (1617-1621). — The great lords had approved the death of Concini, hoping to profit by it. But when they saw De Luynes appropriate the spoils of the marshal, become duke and peer of the realm, and governor of Picardy, marry a Rohan, and make his brothers dukes, they revolted again, nominally in favor of the queen-mother, so recently their enemy. De Luynes was not more successful in resisting them than Marshal d'Ancre had been; the peace of Angoulême, brought about by Richelieu, granted Mary de' Medici the government of Anjou and three cautionary towns (1619). Subsequent attempts on her part proved unsuccessful, and she was glad to ask, through Richelieu, for the confirmation of the first treaty (1620).

Republican Organization of the Protestants. — A more formidable rebellion broke out in the South: this was a religious war. Mary de' Medici and Louis XIII. had carried out the policy of Henry IV. with regard to the Protestants. But the Reformers had themselves gone far beyond the edict of Nantes. Seeing the queen-mother ally herself with Spain, they became defiant. In 1611 they had reorganized their eight hundred and six churches into sixteen provinces divided into districts. A consistory which met every week governed the church; a conference assembled every three months governed the district; an annual synod took charge of the affairs of the province; national synods were to assemble

every three years under an elected president; and finally, two commissioners were to reside at the court, and act as intermediaries between the party and the king. It was a thoroughly democratic and representative republic in the heart of an absolute monarchy. The general assemblies would willingly have played the part of the States-General of the Netherlands. These pretensions alarmed the court, and some Catholics took offence at them. In certain cities the old hatred was again aroused.

War with the Protestants; Death of Albert de Luynes (1621). — In 1617 an edict had re-established the Catholic religion in Béarn. The edict being ill carried out, the king entered Béarn with an army. Immediately the whole Protestant party was in a tumult; a general assembly convened at Rochelle, published a declaration of independence, levied troops, and offered the command of them to the Duke of Rohan (1621). De Luynes, whom Louis XIII. hastily made constable, marched against Montauban with fifteen thousand men. The city, having a naturally strong position, defended itself heroically. The siege, which began in August, had scarcely progressed at all in November. The constable was seized with a fever which carried him off (December, 1621). Louis XIII. continued the war alone, and conducted during the following year a very active campaign. The Duke of Rohan took advantage of a moment of weariness to obtain a treaty of peace which renewed the edict of Nantes, but forbade political meetings, and left to the Reformers only the fortresses of Montauban and Rochelle (October, 1622).

Universal Disorder in the State. — De Luynes left the kingdom in a state of extreme weakness and disorder; the royal authority humiliated by continual revolts, the nobility dictating laws to the sovereign, and mistress of the provinces through the offices which were at their disposal; the Calvinists ready to separate themselves from the rest of the nation; the old foreign policy of Francis I. and Henry IV. abandoned; the kingdom without alliances and without consideration in Europe; and finally, the house of Austria inaugurating the Thirty Years' War by a succession of victories, and preparing for the subjugation of Europe by the ruin of German Protestantism. It was time for Richelieu to take the control of affairs.

Administration of Richelieu (1624–1642); his Designs. —

Mary de' Medici, having become reconciled to her son, obtained the cardinal's hat for her constant counsellor, the bishop of Luçon. At the beginning of the year 1624 she appointed him a member of the council. At the end of a few months Richelieu had overruled or renewed the ministry, turned out a new favorite, conquered Louis XIII. by the ascendancy of a superior genius, and mapped out the policy which was to render illustrious a reign so gloomily begun.

He has himself explained the whole plan of this policy: "When your Majesty," said he to Louis XIII., "determined to give me at the same time membership in your councils and a large share of your confidence, I can truly say that the Huguenots divided the state with you, that the nobles acted as though they were not your subjects, and the more powerful governors of the provinces as though they were sovereigns of their charges. I may say, moreover, that foreign alliances were scorned. . . . I promised your Majesty to employ all my ability, and all the authority it should please you to delegate to me, in ruining the Huguenot party, in lowering the pride of the nobles, and in restoring your name to the position it should occupy among foreign nations." He put at the service of this policy a mind both capacious and keen, which embraced the whole, yet saw details clearly, an untiring activity, and an iron will.

First Operations of Richelieu; Renewed War against the Protestants (1625-1626). — Richelieu had scarcely entered the council, when, cardinal though he was, he concluded the marriage of one of the sisters of Louis XIII., Henrietta Maria, with the king of England, Charles I.; he signed a new treaty of alliance with the Netherlands, secretly furnished money to Mansfeld in Germany, and sent ten thousand men to drive the soldiers of the Pope from the Valtellina. All these alliances were Protestant. Spain instigated the Huguenots to revolt. Rohan rallied those of Languedoc and the Cévennes, Soubise armed those of Rochelle. Rochelle was then a true republic, the centre and capital of Calvinism; its navy was larger than that of the king of France. Richelieu was compelled to obtain ships from two Protestant states, England and the Netherlands. His admiral was fairly successful and Soubise took refuge in England. Richelieu then offered peace to the rebels, so that he might, at his leisure, prepare the means for their future destruction.

Humiliation of the Protestants (1627); Capture of Rochelle (1628); Edict of Alais (1629).—Meanwhile he improved the condition of the finances, organized the army, constructed or bought vessels, and signed a treaty with Spain. When all was in readiness, he induced the king and nobles to undertake the siege of Rochelle. The enterprise seemed difficult; for the king of England sent to the French Calvinists a fleet of ninety ships, commanded by the handsome and incompetent Duke of Buckingham, and the generals and courtiers showed little eagerness to crush the revolt. But Richelieu provided for all emergencies; he was at the same time general, engineer, and admiral. He drove the English from the Isle of Ré, and in order to prevent their sending supplies to Rochelle, he cut off all entrance to the harbor, by an embankment eight hundred fathoms long. Two forts guarded its extremities and two hundred ships defended it. The English made vain attempts to storm this tremendous construction; Rochelle was isolated from the ocean. On the land side, a circumvallation surrounded the city. It resisted, however, sustained by the superhuman courage of the Duchess of Rohan, and by the energy of its mayor, Guiton, who threatened to stab any one who should speak of surrendering. But after a siege of fifteen months, the town was forced to yield (1628). To effect this had cost the king forty millions; but it was not too much to pay for the political unity of France.

Rochelle was treated as a conquered city; its municipal franchises were suppressed, its mayoralty abolished, its fortifications torn down. Finally, the peace of Alais terminated the last religious war. The Calvinists ceased to be a political party and to form a state within a state; but Richelieu allowed them liberty of worship and the enjoyment of civil equality. During the whole of his ministry he employed them equally with other citizens, in the army, the magistracy, and the offices of finance. He protected them always in their rights and in their persons—a remarkable example of enlightened moderation in that intolerant age. One of the consequences of this war was the acquisition of Acadia and Cape Breton from the English (1632).

Humiliation of the Nobles; Day of Dupes (1630); Execution of Montmorency (1632); the Count of Soissons (1641); Cinq-Mars (1642).—Richelieu desired that the king should be, in internal affairs, supreme magistrate of public order,

having, as he said of himself on his death-bed, neither affection nor hatred for any one, but justice for all. The struggle with the nobility, which began in the first days of his ministry, continued till his death. Intrigues, conspiracies, and revolts constantly imperilled his life, his authority, that of the king, and the peace of France. He repressed them with unsparing severity.

The first conspirators were some young noblemen, counsellors of friends of Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother. It served Richelieu's purpose to treat these follies as crimes; but it is possible that he did not misjudge his adversaries when he attributed to them the intention of assassinating him, deposing Louis XIII., and putting in his place the Duke of Orleans, who should marry Anne of Austria. They were all executed or severely punished. Gaston, a prince of feeble character, sued for pardon from Richelieu (1626).

The next year a terrible lesson was learned by those nobles who believed that laws were not made for them. The counts of Bouteville and Les Chapelles were executed for fighting a duel (1627). This time at least the encounter had been in good faith; but it was not always so, and many pretended duels were only assassinations. It was estimated, in 1609, that in the previous eighteen years, four thousand gentlemen had perished in single combat, and as soon as Richelieu was dead, duelling was again engaged in to such an excess that nine hundred and forty gentlemen were killed between 1643 and 1654.

In 1630 the queen-mother had her turn. Mary de' Medici had obtained for the cardinal a position in the council in order that he might serve as her instrument. When she saw that the minister thought only of the interests of the State, and did not yield either to her caprices or those of her second son Gaston, she extorted from the king a promise to degrade him. Richelieu left court. Already the members of the court were crowding the antechambers of the queen-mother. Saint-Simon, the father of the celebrated historian, remonstrated with the king and sent for Richelieu. The king then said to him, "Continue to serve me as you have done, and I will sustain you against all those who have sworn to destroy you." This day was known as the Day of Dupes (October, 1630). It, too, had its victims.

The two brothers Marillac, one the keeper of the seals, the other, marshal of France, had been too hasty in triumph-

ing with the queen-mother: the first was deprived of his office and died in prison; the other was accused of bribery, tried by an extraordinary commission in Richelieu's own house, and condemned to death and executed in 1632. Basompierre, his friend, was shut up in the Bastille, where he remained until the death of the cardinal. Mary de' Medici herself was banished to Compiègne, whence she fled to Brussels.

The frivolous and incompetent Duke of Orleans had also quitted France and joined his mother in the Netherlands, where, with the Duke of Lorraine, he concocted another conspiracy which resulted in open revolt. The governor of Languedoc, Montmorency, was deluded by promises from Gaston. Joining forces, they gave battle to the royal army at Castelnaudary (September, 1632). The Duke of Orleans fled at the first attack; the Duke of Montmorency, left alone, was taken, condemned by the Parliament of Toulouse, and executed in spite of the supplications of all the nobility. "Several," says Richelieu, "murmured against this action and condemned it as harsh; but others, more wise, praised the justice of the king, who preferred the good of his state to the empty reputation of injudicious clemency, and they appreciated the courage of the cardinal, who risked his own personal safety and the hatred of all the nobles in order to be faithful to his duty to his king." The Duke of Lorraine paid the expenses of the war; for Louis XIII. (1634) occupied the duchy by military force, and it remained in the hands of the French until the end of the century. Gaston was spared, but was ordered to retire to Blois. In 1638 the heir apparent was born.

The Count of Soissons made one more attempt to overthrow the terrible cardinal. Having taken refuge in Sedan with the Duke of Bouillon, he collected about him all the malcontents, in order to rekindle the civil war in France, but he was killed in battle. With him the war ended: the Duke of Bouillon hastened to make his submission. The last conspiracy was that of Cinq-Mars. A son of the Marquis of Effiat, he had been placed by Richelieu near Louis XIII., to amuse, entertain, and watch over him. Having become a necessary favorite, he was raised to the position of grand equerry, and aspired to succeed to the position held by the constable De Luynes. He flattered himself that he might be able, with the support of the nobility, to over-

throw Richelieu. If the king was not an accomplice in this scheme, the queen at least was, and also Monsieur and the Duke of Bouillon. Cinq-Mars ruined himself by signing a treaty of alliance with the Spaniards. Richelieu, then ill and almost dying, procured, by bribery, a copy of the treaty and sent it to Louis XIII. Cinq-Mars was condemned, and afterwards beheaded at Lyons (1642). With him perished De Thou, son of the historian. The Duke of Bouillon lost his principality, and Sedan was reunited to France forever.

Submission of Parliament ; Assembly of Notables ; Strengthening of the Royal Authority. — The magistracy never conspired ; but sometimes it grumbled. Richelieu punished with imprisonment, removal from office, or exile, the faintest evidence of opposition. Parliament was expressly forbidden to make any remonstrances against edicts concerning the government and administration of the state. Richelieu had, however, no scorn of public opinion. As is the case with all strong characters, he frequently appealed to it, and gained by doing so. Accordingly many manifestos, explanations of his conduct, even what we call at the present day "articles," were written by him for the *Mercur de France*, the oldest of the French journals ; but he would have no States-General, and merely occasional assemblies of notables, which, chosen by the king, had less of the spirit of independence than the former, and might have quite as much intelligence. To them he exposed his various plans for creating a navy, for instituting a permanent army, for encouraging commerce and industry, and for the reformation of internal administration.

In the year 1626 Richelieu ordered the demolition of the feudal fortresses, which were useless for the defence of the frontiers, and which were to royalty a continual menace, to the towns and surrounding country an object of terror, to the nobles a reminder of their former power and an encouragement to revolt. The same year he abolished the offices of high admiral and constable, which bestowed upon their incumbents an almost royal authority over the navy and army. He established for Lorraine the Parliament of Metz.

Institution of Intendants. — Finally, he made a complete revolution in the provincial administration by the institution of *intendants*. Under the last Valois kings the governors, who were all of the higher nobility, had made them-

selves almost independent in their provinces; and they regarded their offices as a patrimony which should descend to their children. Henry IV. had been obliged to purchase their obedience. Richelieu, who in everything carried out the work of the first Bourbon, going even farther than he, instituted superior officers of justice, of police, and of finance, called by the modest name of intendants, who, chosen by the king from the non-noble classes, without personal influence, were at the disposal of the minister (1635). These officers, docile agents of the central power, exercised a jealous control over the nobles, parliaments, cities, and provincial states; little by little they concentrated in their own hands all the civil power, and ended by leaving to the governors only the military authority, which indeed amounted to nothing in the interior provinces. Royalty gained by this institution, and national unity was strengthened by it. Since the creation of a permanent army under Charles VII. no measure had struck a heavier blow at the new feudalism.

Beginning of an Organization of the Navy (1641). — One of the consequences of the siege of Rochelle was a first attempt to organize a navy. In 1629 Richelieu employed D'Infreville to choose the situations for three arsenals. He decided upon Havre, Brest, and Brouage. Magazines were immediately built there. Numerous vessels were armed, and in the Thirty Years' War the fleets of France controlled the ocean and the Mediterranean Sea.

Richelieu did not forget the infant colonies of France. In Canada, Champlain had founded Quebec in 1608, and France had a few ports in Acadia, the island of Cape Breton, and Florida. These possessions were called New France. In 1627 the cardinal caused the formation of a company which should have the perpetual monopoly of the fur trade, the nomination of its own officers, and the jurisdiction over all its employees. Such a monopoly was then necessary. He organized, after the example of the English and Dutch, the company of the American Isles (1635), which flourished as long as he could watch over it; he supported the East India company, which had a station at Madagascar, and the African company.

Disorder of the Finances. — With regard to finances, Richelieu returned to the unfortunate methods which Sully had discarded. He increased the taxation, which was inevitable

in consideration of the great schemes he undertook, but he managed them badly. The difference between the net and gross income became enormous, as did also the annual deficit. The treasury was in great straits, and the people everywhere were terribly oppressed. Disturbances broke out in Paris and in the provinces; but the troops harshly repressed these revolts, and the people were only too well accustomed to financial disorder and great poverty in the country districts.

Commerce and Industry.—The great minister proposed to neglect nothing that could increase the power and wealth of France. By his system of great commercial companies he desired to contend with the seamen of England and the Netherlands for the markets of the world. A noble had hitherto forfeited his title by sailing in command of a merchant ship. Richelieu declared that commerce should no longer be derogatory to the nobility, and from that time the ships of the companies were commanded by adventurous gentlemen. At home Richelieu encouraged the growing manufactures of glass and carpets, and imported engineers from the Netherlands to drain the marshes, thus carrying out the work of Henry IV. and paving the way for Colbert.

Foreign Policy.—Since the treaty of Vervins, France had taken part in no great war; and as but few of the people and none of the nobility were engaged in either manufactures or commerce, the rising generation felt an impatience of repose and a need for action. Richelieu proceeded to show them an aim worthy of their great courage.

The Spaniards, masters of the Southern Netherlands, Franche-Comté, and Roussillon, surrounded France on three sides, and held Italy by means of Naples and Milan. He began with them, and renewed the old treaties with Venice, Savoy, and the Netherlands.

War of the Valtellina (1624).—He followed up his treaties by actions, and drove the Spaniards from the Valtellina, a valley which secured communication between the Spanish Milanese and the Austrian Tyrol. The inhabitants, Catholic subjects of the Protestant republic of the Grisons, had revolted at the instigation of Spain. The Grisons had protested; the Pope, being chosen as mediator, was on the point of deciding in favor of the Spaniards, when Richelieu took the control of affairs. He at once sent an army of ten thousand men, and restored the Valtellina to the Grisons (1624). The court of Madrid yielded (1626).

War of the Mantuan Succession (1629). — Some years later the cardinal intervened beyond the Alps in favor of a French prince, Charles de Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, who was the heir of Mantua and Montferrat. The Spaniards set up the Duke of Guastalla as claimant against him in Mantua, and the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, in Montferrat, where they besieged Casale, the capital. Richelieu himself marched to the Alps with an army of thirty-six thousand men, and Louis XIII. forced the pass of Susa (1629). The Duke of Savoy signed the treaty of Susa; the Spaniards raised the siege of Casale and returned to the Milanese. Scarcely a year had passed before the victorious Imperialists in Germany had again entered the territory of the Grisons, the Spaniards were in Montferrat, and the Duke of Savoy was negotiating in every direction. Richelieu again crossed the Alps with forty thousand men; Savoy was conquered, Piedmont traversed, Pinerolo taken (1630). The peace of Cherasco, in which Mazarin was the negotiator, strengthened the French influence in Italy. The Duke of Mantua was re-established in his estates, and Victor Amadeus granted to Louis XIII., with Pinerolo, the free passage of the Alps (1631). Thus, in 1631, Richelieu had separated in Italy the domains of the two branches of the house of Austria which were making an effort to reunite, and opened the peninsula to France.

The Thirty Years' War; Gustavus Adolphus in Germany. — The Thirty Years' War, a struggle at once political and religious, had commenced in Bohemia (1618), and had spread gradually throughout the empire. The elector palatine, the king of Denmark, had, one after the other, been conquered and humbled. The imperial army, created and commanded by Wallenstein, had penetrated to the Baltic, trampling under foot Germany and her liberties. The question of its partition among independent princes, or of its consolidation under the despotism of the house of Austria, seemed about to be decided in favor of the latter. Richelieu, cardinal though he was, espoused the cause of the German princes, regardless of their religion. His emissary, Père Joseph, gained such an influence over the electors at the diet of Ratisbon in 1630, that they extorted from the emperor the dismissal of Wallenstein and the disbanding of his army; and then refused to give the emperor's son the title of King of the Romans. Gustavus Adolphus, king of

Sweden, had already made himself famous for remarkable military successes. Richelieu brought about a truce between the young king and the Poles, then granted him an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 francs, and urged him on against Germany. Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany like a thunderbolt of war, defeated Tilly near Leipzig, killed him at the passage of the Lech, and died himself at Lützen, in the arms of victory. Richelieu, now relieved of his weightiest cares at home, boldly substituted France, full of youth and enthusiasm, in Sweden's place in the struggle against the house of Austria.

First Part of the French Period (1635–1643).—Against Austria and Spain thus closely united he formed a solid group of alliances. He promised twelve thousand men to the German confederates, bought Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, the best pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and his army, made a treaty of alliance with the chancellor of Sweden, Oxenstjerna, with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, with the Dutch, with the Swiss, and the dukes of Mantua, Parma, and Savoy. He even tried to win over the king of England.

These numerous treaties announced the proportions which the war would assume. Richelieu carried it to all the French frontiers; to the southern Low-Countries, that he might divide them with Holland; to the Rhine, in order to cover Champagne and Lorraine, and take possession of Alsace; into Germany, that he might join hands with Sweden and break down the power of Austria; into Italy, in order to maintain the authority of the Grisons in the Valtellina and the influence of France in Piedmont; towards the Pyrenees, to conquer Roussillon; to the ocean and the Mediterranean, to destroy the Spanish fleets, to sustain the revolts of Portugal and Catalonia, and to menace the shores of Italy. He forced the nation to make prodigious efforts for seven years.

Victories of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Harcourt, Guébriand, and Lourdes.—The war began successfully in the Netherlands (1635). But the Dutch were startled at seeing the French so near them, and poorly seconded their operations. The Spaniards penetrated into Picardy, crossed the Somme, and seized upon Corbie (1636). For a moment Paris trembled; but the great city soon took courage again. Louis XIII. at the head of forty thousand men hastened to drive the Spaniards beyond the frontiers and recapture Corbie, where the cardinal escaped the greatest danger that

had ever threatened his life, for just at the moment when the king's brother was to give the signal for his assassination, his courage failed (1636). Another invasion, attempted in Burgundy, was also repulsed.

The following year (1637) Cardinal de la Valette took the cities of the upper Sambre, — Cateau-Cambrésis, Landrecies, and Maubeuge. Richelieu loved to entrust commands to priests, since they were trained to obedience. His chief admiral was Lourdis, archbishop of Bordeaux, who destroyed a Spanish fleet in 1638, and ravaged, more than once, the kingdoms of Naples and Spain. But in this year (1638) the greatest successes were on the Rhine: Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar gained a victory over the Imperialists at Rheinfeld, captured their general, Johann von Werth, and carried Alt-Breisach by assault after three victories (1639). When Bernhard died (1639), France fell heir to his conquests and his army. Artois, which belonged to the Spaniards, was invaded during the next campaign. Three marshals besieged Arras. The Spaniards were beaten and the city was captured (1640). A second province was thus taken away from the house of Austria. France was fighting at the same time in the North of Italy. After the death of Victor Amadeus (1640) his brothers had disputed the regency with his widow, the daughter of Henry IV., and had obtained the support of a Spanish army. Richelieu sent into Piedmont the Count of Harcourt, who gained there three brilliant victories, re-established the authority of the regent, and by a wise treaty caused the princes of Savoy to enter the French alliance (1640-1642).

Spain made no further attacks; she had enough to do to defend herself against revolts of the Catalans and the Portuguese (1640). The cardinal lent assistance to the new king of Portugal, John of Braganza, and to the Catalans. A French army, which the king personally conducted, permanently added Roussillon to France (1641). Spain being occupied at home, it was easier to conquer Austria in Germany. The defeat of Nördlingen and the defection of the elector of Saxony, in 1635, had forced the Swedes to fall back into Pomerania. But in 1636 Banér resumed the offensive and overcame the Imperialists at Wittstock; he defeated them again at Chemnitz (1639), forced his way into Bohemia, and, aided by the Count of Guébriant, one of the most skillful tacticians of the age, nearly succeeded in capturing at

Ratisbon, in 1641, the diet of the Empire and the emperor himself. While the successor of Banér, the paralytic Torstenson, was astonishing Europe by the rapidity of his operations and a succession of glorious victories in Silesia and Saxony (1641), Guébriant boldly advanced with the Duke of Weimar's army into the western part of the Empire, and was victorious at Wolfenbüttel (1641) and at Kempen (1642).

Death of Richelieu (December, 1642). — It was in the midst of all these victories that Richelieu died, at the age of fifty-seven. When they presented the Host to him, he said, "Behold the Judge before whom I shall soon appear; I pray Him to condemn me if I have had any other desire than the good of religion and the State." "Do you forgive your enemies?" said the confessor. "I have never had any others but those of the State," he replied. He left France victorious everywhere; the house of Austria conquered; four provinces, Lorraine, Alsace, Artois, and Roussillon, added to the kingdom; Catalonia and Portugal in revolt against Spain; the Swedish and French soldiers almost at the gates of Vienna. He had indeed fulfilled the promise made to Louis XIII. upon entering on his ministry; he had raised the king's name to the position it ought to hold among foreign nations; at home he had made everything submit to his authority. But the nation passed from one danger to another; from aristocratic license to arbitrary royal despotism which sometimes set justice aside, and disposed at will of the fortunes, liberty, and lives of its citizens.

Richelieu was not in reality a systematic enemy of the nobility. He thought it a necessity, and had a horror of the mixture of classes. He was indignant at the position which the bourgeoisie already occupied in the State, on account of the offices it held. Merchants and soldiers were all he asked the Third Estate to furnish. We reproached him a moment ago for having badly managed the finances. But he regarded taxation from a double point of view,—as furnishing resources to the State, and also as a means of keeping the people in submission. "All politicians," said he, "agree that if the people are too much at their ease, it will be impossible to make them conform with the rules of duty. If they are free from taxation, they will dream of being free from obedience."

The French Academy; the Sorbonne; the Palais-Royal; the Jardin des Plantes. — The terrible minister had a taste for



CARDINAL RICHELIEU.

From a painting by Champagne in the Louvre.

letters and the arts. He instituted the French Academy in 1635, designing it to control the language and regulate literary taste; he reconstructed the Sorbonne; he built the college of Plessis, the Palais-Cardinal (Palais-Royal), and founded the royal printing-house; he established the Jardin des Plantes for the instruction of medical students. He treated authors with a deference to which they had not been accustomed, pensioned learned men and poets, Corneille among others, and encouraged painters. He was himself a remarkable writer.

Death of Louis XIII. — Louis XIII. made no alteration in the policy of the cardinal, and called to the council Jules Mazarin (Giulio Mazarini); the friend and confidant of the great minister. The king survived Richelieu only six months (died May 14, 1643).

This prince does not deserve the contempt that is often expressed for him. He retained for eighteen years a minister for whom he had little liking; he made him less his counsellor than the depository of his omnipotence and the dictator of France. This willingness to accept a minister whose demands were often painful and sometimes cruel, should be placed to the credit of the prince who possessed such rare devotion to public interest. Besides, Louis XIII. had courage, and sometimes decision of character, and he exhibited on the throne a virtue which is rarely seen there, the chastity of Saint Louis.

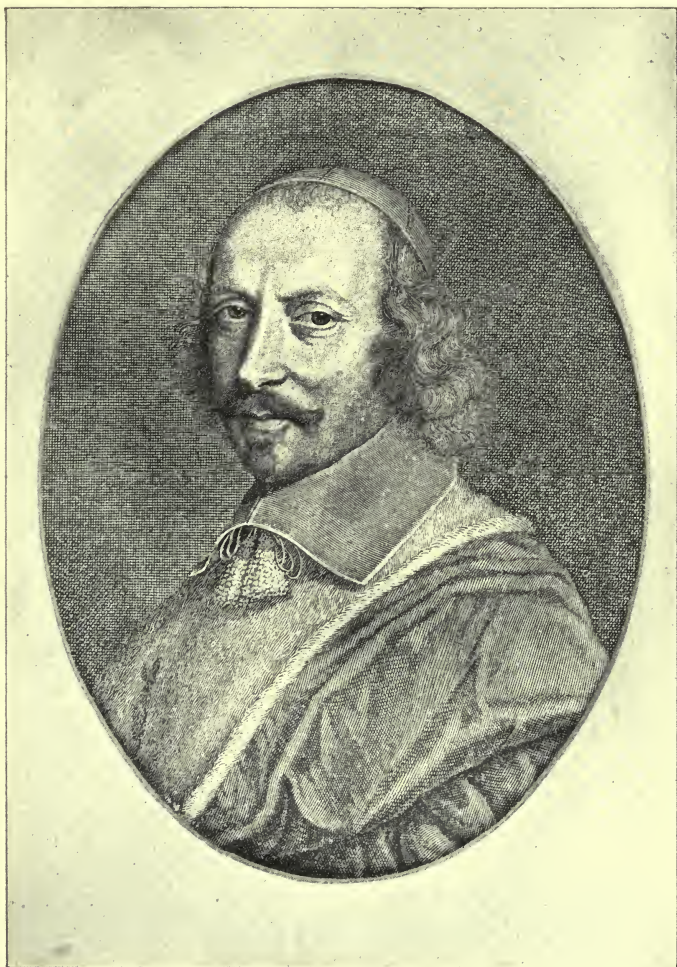
CHAPTER XLIX.

MINORITY OF LOUIS XIV. AND ADMINISTRATION OF
MAZARIN.

(1643-1661 A.D.)

Regency of Anne of Austria. — The eldest son of Louis XIII. was not yet five years old. His father, who distrusted the queen, had left the regency to her only on condition of having a council which should decide all questions by plurality of votes. Anne of Austria did not propose to accept tutors after having had masters so long; she flattered the Parliament; "she would be always very glad," she said, "to make use of the counsels of so august a body"; at the same time she demanded that they should annul the last wishes of her husband. Parliament, delighted to be able to return to political life by means of this tempting opportunity, at once set aside the will of the king. Anne of Austria was proclaimed regent "with power to choose such persons as she might approve, to deliberate on the affairs which should be presented to her." To the astonishment of the court, her first choice was Cardinal Mazarin, the friend and successor of Richelieu.

Mazarin. — Mazarin was born in 1602, and belonged to an old Sicilian family which had settled in Rome. Being sent as nuncio to France (1634), he had attracted the notice of Richelieu, who attached him to himself and obtained for him the cardinal's hat (1641). The queen reposed implicit confidence in him. "He had a strong, foreseeing, inventive mind, plain good sense, a character more supple than weak, and less strong than persevering. He was guided not by likes or dislikes, but by his calculations. Ambition had raised him above vanity. He had a rare insight into the characters of men, but he allowed his own judgment to be influenced by the estimation which life had already won for them. Before granting his confidence to any one he demanded that he should have shown the wit which plans good fortune, and the strength of character which masters



MAZARIN.

From a print in the National Library.

it. He was incapable of despondency, and was remarkably constant in spite of his apparent changeableness" (Mignet).

Cabal of the Importants. — Meanwhile all those who had suffered with the queen had come together and, believing themselves already masters of the State, affected airs of superiority which caused the name Importants to be given to their party. Prominent among them were the Duke of Vendôme, legitimized son of Henry IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées; his two sons, the dukes of Mercœur and Beaufort, and the young and brilliant Duke of La Rochefoucauld. The question now was how to undo the work of Richelieu; the Importants made no attempt to conceal this; they declared openly that it was necessary to restore to the nobles all that Louis XIII. had taken from them: but the queen had become avaricious of power since she had had it in her own hands. If she had not desired to share it with wise counsellors, still less was she willing to give it into the hands of blunderers who had begun plotting again and would soon stir up a civil war. The discovery of an attempt to assassinate Mazarin decided her to banish them all from the court. The Importants had ruled but three months.

Thirty Years' War continued; Victories of Condé and Turenne. — The death of Richelieu had emboldened the Spaniards; they resumed the offensive, and besieged Rocroi, hoping to reach Paris without other obstacle, for they had before them only an army inferior in numbers and a general twenty-one years old, Louis of Bourbon, then Duke of Enghien, afterwards the great Condé. The armies met May 19th, 1643. Condé, at the head of his right wing, routed the cavalry which was placed opposite him, passed boldly behind the Spanish line, so as to surprise the victorious right of the enemy, and routed them. He turned then upon the Spanish infantry, surrounded them, attacked them three times, and broke their line.

The Duke of Enghien followed up this victory with impetuosity and daring. Each year was marked by a victory. The Spaniards being driven out of France, he turned against Austria and her German allies. The army first led by Bernhard of Weimar had just lost its skilful general, Guébriant, and, ill following several generals at once, had been surprised by the Imperialists at Tuttlingen, in cantonments too widely separated. Turenne, being appointed

marshal, gathered together the shattered force and reorganized it. Condé joined him with ten thousand. They attacked the Bavarian general, Mercy, under the walls of Freiburg-in-Breisgau. This was rather a frightful massacre than a victory; but it permitted the two generals to seize Philippsburg, Worms, and Mainz, and thus to clear the enemy from the banks of the Rhine.

While Condé was returning to Paris, Turenne was defeated at Marienthal by Mercy (1645). The Duke of Enghien hastened up with re-enforcements, drove back the enemy, penetrated into Bavaria, and put to rout the entire imperial army in the bloody battle of Nördlingen, where Mercy was killed (1645). In 1646 he besieged Dunkirk, and was the first to win that place for France. The following year he went to Catalonia and besieged Lérida, but was repulsed (1647). This was his first defeat; he repaired his fortunes in another field. In the north the archduke Leopold, the brother of the emperor, had advanced as far as Sens, in Artois; Condé attacked them with his usual vigor, and in two hours the battle was won (1648). Turenne, in Germany, in conjunction with the Swedes, won the battles of Lauingen and Zusmarshausen (1648); drove the aged elector of Bavaria from his states, and but for a tremendous rain which suddenly swelled the waters of the Inn, would have marched on Vienna.

Treaties of Westphalia (1648). — Negotiations had for some time been going on. Proposed in 1641, the conference began in 1643, at two cities of Westphalia, Münster and Osnabrück. The problem to be solved was, to rearrange the map of Europe after a war which had lasted thirty years, to give a new constitution to the Empire, and to regulate the public and religious rights of several Christian nations. At the last moment Spain withdrew. The other states signed the peace, October, 1648.

In the 'Thirty Years' War Austria had endeavored to crush out the religious and political liberties of Germany; Austria being conquered, the Protestants received full liberty of conscience, and the imperial authority, but lately so threatening, was annulled; the princes and the German states were confirmed in the entire and complete exercise of sovereignty within their own states, including the right to make foreign alliances. Sweden received the island of Rügen, Wismar, Hither Pomerania with Stettin, the arch-

bishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden, that is to say, the mouths of the three great German rivers, the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, with five millions of crowns, and three votes in the diet.

France continued to occupy Lorraine. She obtained from the Empire a renunciation of all rights to the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had been holding for a century; to the city of Pinerolo, to Alsace with the exception of Strassburg, thus carrying her frontier to the Rhine. She also received Alt-Breisach on the right bank, and the right to garrison Philippsburg. These were great advantages, for Alsace covered Lorraine and Franche-Comté, so that their restoration to France would be only a question of time. By causing the right of the German states to contract alliances with foreign powers to be recognized, France secured for herself a permanent opportunity to buy up these indigent princes, while by guaranteeing the execution of the treaty she secured the right to interfere on all occasions in the affairs of Germany. The Empire was henceforth only a sort of confederation of three hundred and sixty states, Lutheran and Catholic, monarchical and republican, lay and ecclesiastical. The treaties of Westphalia put an end to the supremacy of the house of Austria. But the Bourbons inherited the ambition of the Hapsburgs, and roused against themselves similar coalitions.

Internal Government from 1643 to 1661. — While Mazarin was thus gloriously carrying out the policy of Richelieu, his power in France was shaken by factions. The last reign had bequeathed great financial embarrassments to Cardinal Mazarin, who increased them by his bad management; he needed a great deal of money to carry on the foreign war, to bribe the nobles by pensioning them, and also to satisfy his own scandalous avarice. The superintendent, Émeri, was also an Italian, and unpopular, as were all ministers of finance in those times. He resorted to burdensome and vexatious expedients: he borrowed money at twenty-five per cent; he created offices which he sold, reduced the payments to the state annuitants, kept back a portion of the salaries of public officers, revived obsolete ordinances in order to enforce heavier fines, and insisted upon extreme rigor in the collection of taxes. The end was universal bankruptcy. The Fronde was evolved from this financial crisis and extreme distress.

Opposition of Parliament to the Royal Authority. — By the establishment of the *paulette*, judicial offices had become a hereditary property, perfectly safe, and attended with high and deserved esteem. The magistrates had acquired by this security and consideration a spirit of proud independence which made Parliament a centre of opposition, where, if necessary, national traditions and monarchical principles were earnestly defended. The financial exactions of the superintendent gave it an excellent pretext for speaking out while appearing to speak in the interest of the people. New edicts led to the beginning of a revolt. Beside themselves with the popularity they had won by their persistent opposition to the ministry, the magistrates imagined themselves to occupy the position of the States-General, and emulated the Parliament of England, which at that time was conducting a revolution; and in May, 1648, the members of the four sovereign courts, the Parliament, the chamber of accounts, the *cour des aides*, and the great council, came together in the hall of St. Louis in the palace of justice, "to serve the interest of the public and of individuals, and to reform the abuses of the State."

The prime minister decided at first to annul the decree of their union; then, changing his mind, — for the situation appeared dangerous, — he authorized the deliberations of the joint assembly, which undertook to give a new constitution to France. The assembly actually offered twenty-seven articles for the royal sanction, so as to make them the fundamental law of the monarchy. Some of their demands were excellent, others less useful, and most of them impracticable. The most important provided that in the future the taxes could not be legally collected unless they had been discussed and registered, "with liberty of suffrage," by the Parliament of Paris. This was giving a part of the legislative authority to an aristocracy of two hundred magistrates who bought their offices. Another of their reforms would have been a direct attack upon the administrative centralization instituted by Richelieu, by abolishing the office of the intendants of provinces. The "companies" were better inspired when they demanded substantial securities for the liberty of the subject, the suppression of *lettres de cachet*, of extraordinary tribunals, and the institution of something resembling *habeas corpus*.

Day of Barricades (Aug. 26, 1648); **Mathieu Molé**; the

Coadjutor De Retz. — At this time, encouraged by the victory of Sens, the cardinal resolved to seize three of the most obstinate magistrates, — Blancheménil, Charton, and Broussel. He mistakenly believed that he should make a great impression upon the people by causing them to be arrested at midday, just as the *Te Deum* was being sung in Notre-Dame for the victory of Sens, and the Swiss guards were bringing into the church sixty-three flags taken from the enemy. Charton escaped, Blancheménil was taken without any difficulty, but an old servant of Broussel aroused the people; the shops were closed, the heavy iron chains which were at the entrance to the principal streets were stretched across, and four hundred thousand voices cried at once, “Liberty and Broussel!” (Aug. 26, 1648). Two hundred barricades were thrown up in a moment; they were extended up to within a hundred paces of the Palais-Royal.

Next day the Parliament in a body went on foot over the barricades, which they were permitted to pass, to demand of the queen their imprisoned members, but could not obtain them. On their return they were stopped by the infuriated populace. The intrepid first president, Mathieu Molé, calmed the crowd by the dignity of his demeanor and returned once more to the palace. The disturbance increased. The magistrates attempted to make another application to Anne of Austria; and Queen Henrietta Maria of England persuaded her at last to grant it. Quiet was at once restored. In October the edict of St. Germain sanctioned all the demands of the “chamber of St. Louis.”

The coadjutor of Paris, Paul de Gondi, who had taken a prominent part in the victorious insurrection, was descended from a Florentine family. When young he had formed a plot against Richelieu, and had made a special study of conspiracies. It was with such a turn of mind that he entered the Church. In 1643 he was appointed coadjutor of his uncle, the archbishop of Paris; but he aspired to a much higher position. He aimed to play the part of Richelieu, and made use of his office only to gain popularity in Paris. He believed he had in him the elements of a great man; time proved him to be only a blunderer.

War of the Fronde; Parliament and the Nobles (January–April, 1649). — The prime minister had yielded only to gain time; he resolved to settle with these factions when he had got rid of the foreign war. In February, 1649, Anne of

Austria left Paris with her children and assembled some troops about her. Parliament, unable to struggle alone against the court, demanded or accepted the services of some princes and young lords, who could afford to amuse themselves with civil war. These were the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, the Duke of Longueville, who had married their sister, the Duke of Bouillon, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld, and even the wise Turenne. The coadjutor was the ruling spirit of the plot; as figure-head he used a grandson of Henry IV., the Duke of Beaufort, a prince possessing little wit, but much courage. Gondi also endeavored to enlist Condé, but he proudly refused. The struggle which then began deserves the name which history has bestowed upon it, that of a child's plaything, the Fronde (sling).

"The queen, with tears in her eyes, implored the prince of Condé to act as protector to the king, and the victor of Rocroi, Freiburg, Nördlingen, and Sens could not turn his back upon so many past services. Parliament, nevertheless, dared to sustain the war. Each member taxed himself in order to raise troops. The great chamber, the chamber of inquests, the chamber of requests, the chamber of accounts, the *cour des aides*, which had so often cried out against slight and necessary taxation, raised a sum of almost ten millions for the ruin of the country. Twelve thousand men were levied by decree of Parliament. Every owner of a *porte-cochère* had to furnish a man and a horse; the cavalry was called the cavalry of the *porte-cochères*. . . . No one knew why he was in arms. . . . Everything was turned into jest. . . . Parisian troops who went out from Paris, and always returned whipped, were received with hisses and shouts of laughter. All their small losses were repaired by couplets and epigrams. The public-houses were the tents where they held councils of war in the midst of jests, songs, and the most dissolute merry-making" (Voltaire).

It is not necessary, however, to represent the Fronde as more insignificant than it really was. It was well known why the people took up arms. A universal bankruptcy had lately crushed all hearts and fortunes; they wished to arise from this fallen condition. In order to accomplish a revolution, it is not only necessary that there should be reasons for change; there should also be men capable of making the change; and in 1648 no one took any interest in the public

welfare. The princes regretted their places in the council; the nobles their lost power; the Parliament wished to play the same game which was being played by the Parliament of England on the other side of the Channel, and the people, who saw in all this only a means for a decrease of taxation, followed in the wake of the princes, the magistrates, and their archbishop. The latter expected that the reaction against the system of Richelieu would surely bear him into power. Men were not going at haphazard; therefore the ridiculousness of the Fronde does not consist in the vanity of its proposals, but in the disorder of its antagonistic ambitions, and also in the impossibility of its success.

The magistrates were the first to desire to withdraw from the squabble. The "gentlemen of the robe" had more love for the country than the soldiers. The news of a treaty with Spain signed by the nobles, brought Parliament to a decision; the first president was appointed to treat with Mazarin. The convention of Rueil lowered some of the taxes, authorized the assemblies of the chambers, and brought the court back to Paris (April, 1649).

The Petits-Maitres, or Young Fronde; Arrest of Condé (January, 1650). — The peace, though dearly bought, was of short duration. Condé desired to rule the government which he had protected. He wearied the regent and the prime minister by his continual demands, and humiliated them by his insolence. Meantime he caused the old Frondeurs to become discontented; he spoke constantly with scorn of those bourgeois who presumed to govern the state; he surrounded himself with vain and presumptuous young lords, who reproduced in an extreme degree the defects of their chief and were called in consequence the *petit maitres* (little masters). Mazarin had little difficulty in uniting all the people against him; and had him arrested in the Louvre, with his brother Conti and his brother-in-law Longueville (January, 1650). The populace rejoiced; the old democratic leaven of the great city began to ferment. "Let us recognize the fact," said a pamphlet of the time, "that the great are great only because we carry them on our shoulders."

Union of the Two Frondes; Exile of Mazarin (January, 1651). — Insurrections broke out in some of the provinces, but were quickly repressed. But Mazarin had promised the cardinal's hat to the coadjutor, in order to attach him to the

interests of the queen; after the affair was over he forgot his promise. The coadjutor entered into alliance with the party of Condé, revived the dissatisfactions of Parliament, and stirred up the people; and the two Frondes, for the time united under his influence, obliged Anne of Austria to deliver up the princes and to send her prime minister out of the kingdom. Mazarin retired to Cologne, and in his exile continued to govern the queen of France (February, 1651). De Retz had finally obtained the hat; but the union of the two Frondes was of short duration.

Revolt of Condé; Battle of Bléneau (April, 1652). — Condé was dissatisfied with everything; with the Parliament, with Paris, and with the court. He had fancied that the queen would grant him the entire control of affairs as a compensation for his thirteen months of captivity, and yet Mazarin was governing from his place of exile. Irritated by the isolation to which he was abandoned, he undertook more criminal designs. He set out for the south, resolved to acquire supreme power by force of arms. While he was urging Guienne to insurrection and treating with Spain, his friends were preparing for war in the heart of France. Mazarin at once returned to France (December, 1651), and gave the command of the troops to the viscount of Turenne, reattached to the royal cause. The marshal advanced to the Loire. Condé most unexpectedly appeared and attacked him; but Turenne, with only four thousand men against twelve thousand, prevented the enemy from following up their advantage.

Battle of the Faubourg Saint Antoine (July, 1652). — Which side would Paris take? The armies advanced to demand an answer from the Parisians themselves; they refused to allow either of the parties then facing each other in the Faubourg Saint Antoine to enter Paris. The battle was bloody and for a long time undecided. The Duke of Orleans, the cardinal De Retz, the Parliament, the queen, were awaiting the result. Condé fought like a soldier. But the army of the Fronde, threatened on its flanks, was about to be surrounded and destroyed, when Mademoiselle, the daughter of Gaston of Orleans, caused the gates to be opened to Condé, and turned the cannon of the Bastille upon the royal troops. Turenne withdrew in astonishment. Condé soon left the city and retired to the Spaniards in Flanders. A large number of nobles followed him thither, taking with them almost an army.

Return of Mazarin (February, 1653).—This emigration was fatal to those that took part in it. It accelerated the movement of public opinion, which had turned in the direction of the king; Mazarin, in order to present no obstacle to it, withdrew a second time. Then the Parliament and the citizens implored the queen-mother to return to the now peaceful capital. Ten magistrates were deprived of their offices or imprisoned; the cardinal De Retz was shut up in Vincennes, the prince of Condé condemned to death in default of appearance, and Gaston exiled to Blois. Three months after, Mazarin returned in full power (February, 1653). This was the end of the Fronde. But these events left an ineffaceable impression on the mind of Louis XIV. The remembrance of them contributed to develop in him the most absolute ideas of government. Upon returning to Paris, he authorized the registration (October, 1652) of a declaration "very expressly *forbidding* the members of Parliament thenceforth to take any part in the general affairs of State, and in the direction of finances." Two more very heavy blows were dealt against Parliament: a statute providing that the decrees of the council of State should be obligatory upon the "sovereign courts," and the re-establishment (1655) of intendants in the provinces. And thus the revolution attempted by the parliamentary aristocracy miscarried.

Victories of Turenne at Arras and at the Dunes; Alliance of France with Cromwell.—The war of the Fronde was ended. It remained to finish the war with Spain, which during these disturbances had recaptured Dunkirk, and Casale in Italy. Condé put at the service of the same enemy the sword which had once been so fatal to them; but he seemed to have lost his strength on leaving France. He went first with the Archduke Leopold to besiege Arras. Turenne attacked them in their camp and forced their lines. Condé could do nothing but retreat in good order.

The years 1655 and 1656 were occupied in besieging places on the frontier, and in skilful manœuvres on the part of Turenne and Condé; but with the small army they had under their control they could strike no decisive blows. Mazarin had no more royalist scruples than Richelieu had had of religious scruples. His predecessor had formed an alliance with the Protestants against Austria; he formed an alliance with Cromwell (1657) against Spain. Hence-

forth Spain experienced only reverses. While the English were seizing upon Jamaica, and burning the galleys of Cadiz, Dunkirk, the key of Flanders, was besieged by land and sea. The Spaniards advanced along the dunes which bordered the sea, in order to assist them. Turenne gained a complete victory over them (June, 1658): Dunkirk, which he acquired by it, was restored to the English.

Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659); League of the Rhine (1658).

— The cabinet of Madrid had no more armies; it asked for peace. Negotiations were conducted by the two ministers, Mazarin and Don Luis de Haro, who met on an island in the Bidassoa, at the frontier of the two countries. The result was the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). France retained Artois, Cerdaña, Roussillon, and Lorraine; the prince of Condé was re-established in his principal offices; and finally Louis XIV. married the infanta Maria Theresa, who was to bring him a dowry of three hundred thousand gold crowns, in consideration of which the princess renounced all pretension to the throne of her father. Mazarin arranged it so that the renunciation should be legally null; he expressly made it dependent upon the exact payment of the dowry, which he knew the Spaniards would never be able to pay. Thus he paved the way for the future claims of the house of Bourbon. By this same treaty Mazarin abandoned Portugal, which, having no longer the support of France, sought that of England. In 1658 Mazarin concluded the league of the Rhine, by which the three ecclesiastical electors, the Duke of Bavaria, the princes of Brunswick and Hesse, the kings of Sweden and Denmark, formed an alliance with France for the maintenance of the treaties of Westphalia, and placed themselves after a fashion under his protection.

Internal Administration of Mazarin. — However great as a diplomatist, Mazarin did not show himself a great minister. His internal administration was deplorable. He neglected commerce and agriculture; he allowed the navy to dwindle away, and managed the finances in such a way that at his death the public treasury owed 430,000,000, while his private fortune amounted to 100,000,000, which would be equivalent to three or four times as much at the present time. Mazarin was a very kind relative; he prevented the marriage of one of his nieces to Louis XIV., but he placed them all in advantageous positions. His oldest sister lived

to see one of her daughters Princess of Conti; the other, Duchess of Modena. The five daughters of his other sister were married to the Duke of Mercœur, the Count of Soissons, the Roman constable Colonna, the Duke of Bouillon, and the Duke of La Meilleraie. France paid all of these dowries. His nephew was made Duke of Nivernais, and his brother, a poor monk buried in the seclusion of an Italian convent, was made archbishop of Aix and a cardinal.

A few pensions to men of letters cannot be regarded as an offset to all this plunder, nor the expenses borne in establishing a magnificent library (the Mazarin) which at a late time was opened to the public, nor the foundation of the college of the Four Nations. Mazarin had a very great love of the arts, though perhaps not the best taste in respect to them; he brought from Italy a number of pictures, statues, and curiosities, even actors and machinists, who introduced the opera into France; he formed, in 1655, the academy of painting and sculpture. He died at Vincennes, March 9th, 1661, at the age of fifty-nine, in despair at leaving his beautiful paintings, his statues, his books, affairs, and life; and for all that "facing death becomingly."

THIRTEENTH PERIOD.



TRIUMPH OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY (1661-1715).



CHAPTER L.

LOUIS XIV.—INTERNAL ORGANIZATION.—COLBERT;
LOUVOIS; VAUBAN.

(1661-1683 A.D.)

Division of the Reign of Louis XIV.—Charles V. used to say that fortune was no friend to old men. The greatest king of the Bourbon race had the same experience. Long reigns, indeed, often present two contradictory aspects; one season of splendor and prosperity, another of downfall and misery, because few princes are sufficiently masters of themselves to be able to modify their own ideas according to the changes in the needs of the people.

The brilliant period of the reign of Louis XIV. extends from 1661 to 1683, from the death of Mazarin to the death of Colbert, and is filled with those stormy characters which the preceding years had produced: for example, in internal administration, Colbert; in war, Turenne, Condé, Duquesne, and Louvois; in letters, Molière, La Fontaine, Boileau, Racine, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Madame Sévigné; in art, Lebrun, Claude Lorraine, Puget, Hardouin-Mansard, and Perrault. Then the king was successful in everything; permanent conquests were made, great works were accomplished, splendid monuments erected.

After 1683 Louis XIV., who was then advanced in life, became delicate: Louvois, who had no longer the useful counterpoise of Colbert, and Madame de Maintenon, ruled the monarch. Joy and happiness departed with his young



LOUIS XIV. IN HIS YOUTH.
From the statuette of Chapu.



years. The great men passed away and were replaced by a weaker race. Louis remained alone, the last of his generation, and went to his grave, sad and conquered, leaving France without industry, without commerce, exhausted, and cursing the great reign which she had for twenty-five years greeted with enthusiastic acclamations.

Louis XIV. assumes Sole Charge of the Government. — In 1661 Louis XIV. was twenty-three years old, and had reigned eighteen years without becoming known. Mazarin alone had understood him. He said, "There is stuff enough in him to make four kings and an honest man." Mazarin's correspondence attests the constant efforts made by the cardinal to prepare his pupil to take the direction of affairs. When the ministers came, after his death, to ask the king to whom they should report in the future, "To me," was his answer. He accepted all the cares of royalty; he was, said La Bruyère, his own prime minister, and demanded that the principal functionaries should correspond directly with him. For thirty years he worked regularly eight hours a day. He recommended his son, in truly eloquent words, not to forget "that it is necessary to reign by working; that it is ingratitude and insolence to God, and injustice and tyranny to men, to wish to do one without the other."

Ideas of Louis XIV. on Government. — The young prince had already conceived the whole plan of his policy. Louis XIV. was the first to establish in France the theory of absolute monarchy. In his eyes royalty was a divine institution; sovereigns were the representatives of God upon earth, and on this account participated in his power and infallibility. Louis not only believed himself to be the master of his subjects; he regarded himself, according to feudal ideas, as the proprietor of their estates — a monstrous doctrine which carries us back to the midst of the Oriental monarchies. Yet it seemed to him that this authority, to which he recognized no limits but those imposed by religion and his own conscience, ought never to remain inactive. He believed that kings had imperious duties to fulfil. "We ought," said he, "to consider the welfare of our subjects rather than our own; we should make laws with a view solely to their advantage; and the power we have over them should only make us work the more effectually for their happiness."

It was thus that Louis XIV. conceived of the profession of king: let us see how he reigned.

The Councils. — The upper council, into which the king called the secretaries of State and sometimes the princes of the blood, corresponded to the present council of ministers; it had the general direction of policy and of important affairs; it also decided appeals from the council of State.

The council of State, or king's council, was the great administrative body of the kingdom. It met four times a week, under the presidency of the chancellor, each time to attend to affairs of a different nature. For instance, the Monday council read and discussed reports addressed to ministers by the governors of provinces; this was the *council of despatches*. On Wednesday the *council of finances* was held; it deliberated upon new levies of taxes, made up the schedule of the *taille*, or real estate and personal tax. Friday was the day for the examination of complaints of private individuals or royal officers against the tax-farmers and the collectors, and for the adjudication of leases of taxation. On Saturday the *council of parties* decided conflicts of jurisdiction between tribunals, and interpreted the royal ordinances. The councillors of State were eighteen in number.

The Grand Council had control of all proceedings concerning bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the king; it decided cases evoked from the sovereign courts, and contradictory decrees passed by different parliaments.

Ministers. — The king's clerks became, in 1547, secretaries of State; they were four in number; each of them administered, not a certain class of affairs, but all the affairs of certain provinces: they divided France among themselves geographically. It was an impracticable form of organization. In 1619 one among them was put in charge of war matters; in 1626 another received charge of foreign affairs; and finally, under Louis XIV., the ministry of the king's household and of ecclesiastical affairs and that of marine affairs were instituted. The offices of chancellor, or keeper of the seals, the head of the magistracy, and that of comptroller of the finances composed virtually two other ministries.

The Ministers of Louis XIV. — The ministers that Mazarin had left him were Pierre Séguier, keeper of the seals and chancellor; Michel le Tellier, secretary of war; Hugues de Lionne, in charge of marine affairs until 1669, and of foreign

affairs; Nicolas Foucquet, superintendent of finances. The first two were distinguished men; the third was a man above the average; the fourth, Foucquet, was a noble patron of letters, but he had brought, or rather continued, the finances in a condition of extreme disorder, and he helped himself without scruple from the treasury. He increased the inventories of expenses which were shown to the king, and diminished the lists of receipts; and finally, what was more reprehensible, he seemed to be always trying to fortify his position to provide against the case of disgrace. But the king had a private minister who informed him every day of the superintendent's deceptions; this was Jean-Baptiste Colbert, born at Rheims in 1619, of an old family of merchants and magistrates, an intendant under Mazarin, who had recommended him to the king. At a magnificent festival which Foucquet gave in honor of the king, Louis was offended by the ostentatious device which he read in every thing, "*Quo non ascendam?*" and by all the appointments of the entertainment, which were truly regal. A few weeks after, Foucquet was in the Bastile. He was accused of wasteful management, which was very just, and of a plot against the State which was never proved. At the end of three years nine judges pronounced him deserving of death, and thirteen of banishment. The king changed the sentence to perpetual imprisonment, and Foucquet was shut up in the fortress of Pinerolo, where he died after nineteen years of captivity. Colbert succeeded Foucquet, with the title of comptroller-general. In 1666 Michel le Tellier gave his office to his son, the celebrated Louvois: the principal ministries of Louis XIV. were then filled up.

Colbert. — Colbert did the work of about five of the present ministries; that of the king's household, with the fine arts, that of finances, that of agriculture, including commerce, that of public works, and after 1669, that of marine; an overwhelming task, which, however, did not crush him. "Jean-Baptiste Colbert," says a contemporary, "had a stern countenance, but upon acquaintance he proved easy of access, expeditious, and perfectly reliable. He was of the opinion that good faith is the most solid foundation of affairs. Possessing a strong though heavy mind, adapted mainly for calculation, he cleared up all the confusion in which the superintendents and clerks of the treasury had involved affairs in order that they might fish in troubled waters."

Reorganization of the Finances. — The finances had now fallen back into the chaos from which Sully had extricated them. The public debt was 430,000,000, the revenues were consumed two years in advance, and of the 84,000,000 of annual taxes, scarcely 35,000,000 went into the treasury. Colbert began by punishing the malversations committed for twenty-five years by the officers of finance. The farmers of the revenues, who had taken advantage of the needs of the State to lend to it at usurious rates, were made to disgorge: the fines amounted to 110,000,000. These measures suited the spirit of the times, but were not in accordance with wise policy; the surest plan by which a state can secure itself against having to make disadvantageous terms in days of adversity is always to abide by its plighted word in days of prosperity.

Colbert was the institutor of the budget. Until then money had been paid out indiscriminately, without having regard to the receipts of the treasury. He was the first to draw up each year a statement in which the probable revenues and expenses were estimated in advance. When a secretary of State had to make an expenditure of money, he signed a special order for the payment; the receiving party presented it to the comptroller-general, who assigned the payment of the sum to a special fund, and presented the assignment to the king for his signature.

Colbert modified the form and assessment of taxes. The *taille*, or land-tax, was *personal*; that is, paid by all commoners. He desired to make it *real*; that is, payable by the landed property, no matter who might be the owners. It amounted, in 1661, to 53,000,000; he reduced it to 32,000,000. In the midst of the troubles of the Fronde many persons had assumed titles of nobility or bought them. A royal ordinance revoked all patents of nobility granted during the past thirty years, and forty thousand wealthy families thus became again subject to taxation, which, of course, lightened the burdens of their neighbors. The comptroller-general very reasonably preferred the *aides*, or indirect taxes, to the *taille*, but he increased or created taxes on coffee, tobacco, wines, cards, lotteries, etc., and from 1,500,000 francs, increased them to 21,000,000.

He did not approve of loans; not that he did not appreciate the advantage of borrowing at a low rate in order to discharge burdensome debts, but he doubted the expediency

of giving Louis XIV. the opportunity to burden the future for the benefit of the present.

The following is a summary of the financial administration of Colbert: in 1661, out of 84,000,000 livres of taxes the treasurer had to pay 52,000,000 for annuities and salaries; only 32,000,000 remained, and 60,000,000 were paid out; deficit, 28,000,000. In 1683, the year in which Colbert died, the taxes amounted to 112,000,000, in spite of a reduction of 22,000,000 on the *taille*; salaries and annuities now required only 28,000,000; the net revenue of the treasury was 89,000,000. Thus, on the one hand, Colbert had increased the receipts by 28,000,000, diminished the annuities and salaries 29,000,000, which constituted an annual net saving to the State of 57,000,000; while on the other, he had relieved the common people of 22,000,000, by reducing the *taille* in the same proportion. The figures speak for themselves.

Agriculture. — Sully had sacrificed industry to agriculture; Colbert did not sacrifice agriculture to industry, as has often been said. He relieved it of taxes which oppressed it; he forbade again the seizure of animals and implements of labor in the collection of taxes due the State; he encouraged the improvement of live-stock, and ordered the draining of marshes. But he made a mistake in being influenced by that popular prejudice which regarded free trade in grain as a promoter of scarcity. Colbert succeeded in reducing the price of wheat for manufacturers and soldiers; but the farmers, not finding it profitable, ceased in many districts to raise it at all.

Industry. — Industry was still in its infancy; the French imported almost everything. Colbert, coming as he did from the shop of a merchant of Rheims, determined that France should be able to furnish her own supplies. He organized the protective system, injurious to a matured industry, but indispensable to a growing one. This was, in his eyes, only a temporary measure, which would suffice to make it unnecessary for the kingdom to obtain any necessities from foreigners.

Thanks to the fact that Colbert spared no expense in buying or obtaining, by means fair or foul, the industrial secrets of neighboring nations, and attracting the most skilful workmen to France, the number of manufactures increased rapidly. He sustained them by subsidies wisely distributed.

He obtained from the Church the suppression of seventeen holidays. In order to increase the number of workers, he endeavored to reduce the number of monks, and to postpone the age when they should be permitted to take religious vows. The result was that in a short time the French cloths had no rivals in Europe; tin, steel, porcelain, morocco leather, which had always been imported, were manufactured in France; the linens and serges of Holland, the laces and velvets of Genoa, the carpets of Persia and Turkey, were not only imitated, but equalled; the rich stuffs in which gold and silver were mingled with silk were fabricated at Tours and at Lyons; finer glass was made at Tour-la-Ville and at Paris than at Venice; the tapestries of Flanders were surpassed by those of the Gobelins.

It is worthy of remark that Colbert imprinted upon French industry the stamp which it has borne ever since. He seemed to have foreseen the position which France should occupy in the industrial world by employing keen intelligence and delicate taste in the manufacture of the most important articles. It was under the influence of this foresight that the manufacture of the Gobelin tapestries was organized, that it might be a model school where art and industry should join hands.

Internal Commerce; Public Works. — Colbert desired to have only one line of custom-houses, on the frontier, but each province was surrounded by them. He reduced their number, however, and suppressed them in the case of twelve provinces. He encouraged the exportation of wines and brandies, and declared Dunkirk, Bayonne, and Marseilles free ports. He established bonded warehouses in the French ports, where, in case of re-exportation, duties already paid should be refunded, granted a free passage for foreign merchandise through all the provinces, repaired the high roads, which had become impassable, and constructed new ones. Finally, he projected the canal of Burgundy, ordered the construction of that of Orleans, and dug that of Languedoc, which united the Mediterranean Sea and the ocean. The port of Cette was built at one of its extremities; Toulouse was at the other, and from Toulouse the Garonne formed an open road to Bordeaux and the ocean. This work, gigantic for that period, was commenced in 1664, and continued without interruption until 1681.

Commerce, thus assisted, developed rapidly. In order to

regulate and enlighten this new activity, Colbert re-established, in 1665, the council of commerce, instituted by Henry IV. Louis XIV. presided over it regularly every fortnight. Similar councils, established in the provinces, were "to assemble every year, and choose deputies who should present their requests to the minister."

Maritime Commerce and Colonies. — Foreigners had engrossed all the maritime commerce, even the coasting trade. Of twenty-five thousand ships in Europe, the Dutch had fifteen or sixteen thousand, and the French, at most, only five or six hundred. Fouquet had established anchorages of fifty sous (six or seven francs) a ton on foreign ships, payable on entering and leaving French ports. Colbert retained this duty, which was for the French marine almost what the navigation act has been for the English. He granted to national ships bounties on exportations and importations; and encouraged the builders of ships intended for oceanic navigation, by other bounties, so that the merchant marine, stimulated and protected, developed rapidly.

But the English and Dutch had still the advantage of the French in having a larger experience, assured markets for sales, markets of purchase which they had frequented for a century, and immense capital which enabled them to dare and risk more. Colbert, in order to compete with them, substituted privileged associations for the efforts of isolated individuals. He established five great companies on the model of the Dutch and English companies, — those of the East and West Indies, the North, the Levant, and Senegal. He granted them the exclusive monopoly of trade with these distant coasts, and also bounties, and made them considerable advances.

He tried to restore life to the colonial system, which had been much neglected since Richelieu's time. France possessed only Canada with Acadia, Cayenne, the island of Bourbon, a few factories in Madagascar and the Indies. Colbert bought, for less than a million, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, and several other of the Lesser Antilles (1664); he placed the French buccaneers, who had seized upon the eastern part of St. Domingo, under the protection of France, sent new colonies to Cayenne, took Newfoundland, and commenced the occupation of the magnificent valley of the Mississippi, or Louisiana. In Africa, he took

Goree from the Dutch, and took possession of the east shores of Madagascar. In Asia, the India Company established itself at Surat, at Chandernagore, and later at Pondicherry. And finally, in order to keep all the commerce of the colonies under the national flag, Colbert closed their ports to all foreign ships, while for the purpose of developing agriculture he prohibited (in 1669) the importation into France of tobaccos and sugars from Brazil—an unfortunate measure, which had the effect of alienating Portugal and throwing her into the arms of England.

Military Marine.—Colbert first repaired the few vessels that Mazarin had left in the ports of France; then he bought some from Sweden and Holland, employed builders and ropemakers from Hamburg, Riga, and Danzig, and established dockyards at Dunkirk, Havre, and Rochefort. Henry IV. had discovered Toulon, and Richelieu Brest. Vauban surrounded the latter with formidable defences. He also constructed, after the peace of Nymwegen, immense works at Toulon, which made this city one of the finest ports in the world.

In order to increase the navy, Colbert instituted the maritime registration, which obliged the maritime population of the coasts to furnish, in return for certain privileges, the crews necessary for manning the vessels. This institution was completed by the establishment of a system of pensions for sailors. In 1661 the fleet was composed of only thirty vessels; in 1678 it numbered one hundred and twenty, and five years later one hundred and seventy-six. In 1692 the king had one hundred and thirty-one ships, one hundred and thirty-three frigates, and one hundred and one other vessels. The administration of naval affairs was separated from the military command, with advantage to both services. The corps of marine guards, composed of a thousand gentlemen, was instituted for the purpose of training officers; also a school for cannoneers, a school of hydrography, an upper naval council, and a council for naval constructions.

The Fine Arts.—Colbert, it is true, had reformed the finances, commerce, and navigation, but he surrounded them with such minute regulations that the initiative of individuals was too often supplanted by that of the government; he endeavored also to regulate thought, and place the moral life of France as he had placed its material life, and as

Richelieu had placed its political life, — in the hands of the king. He instituted, in 1663, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres; in 1666, the Academy of Sciences. The Academy of Music was organized in 1669, and that of Architecture in 1671. A school of Fine Arts, established at Rome (1667), received the pupils who had taken the prizes at the Academy of Painting in Paris. More than ten thousand volumes and a large number of precious manuscripts were added to the Royal library; the Mazarin library was opened to the public; the Jardin des Plantes enlarged; the foundation of provincial academies encouraged.

Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Molière, and twenty others received pensions; even foreigners shared the king's generosity. It must be said, however, that the literary budget was never very burdensome. In the year when pensions reached the highest figure the total expenditure did not exceed one hundred thousand livres.

Louvois; Reform of the Army. — The attempt of Francis I. to create a French infantry in the form of provincial legions had not succeeded. In 1558 Henry II. had reorganized these legions, which he divided into regiments and companies. The four oldest regiments, those of Picardy, Champagne, Navarre, and Piedmont, had the first rank in the army. Under Louis XIII. regiments were divided into battalions. They were recruited by voluntary enlistment, which often brought in the dregs of the people, and commissions were sold. The cavalry had been organized by Charles VII.; it was composed of nobles. Louis XII. added to this heavy cavalry a lighter cavalry, which foreigners joined, and in 1558 the dragoons were organized. The light-horse date from Henry IV.; the musketry and riflemen, from Louis XIII. The cavalry also was divided into regiments, squadrons, and companies. The artillery was numerous, but had no especial corps to manage and defend it; the same was the case with the engineers. All these arms awaited the advent of the great administrator to whom Louis XIV. confided the portfolio of war in 1666.

Colbert had organized peace; Louvois, "the greatest and most brutal of clerks," organized war. François-Michel le Tellier, Marquis of Louvois, born in 1641, entered the office of his father, the secretary of State, and was initiated by a long apprenticeship into the science of military administration, to which he brought an activity equal to that of Col-

bert. When Louis XIV. decided to govern alone, Louvois became really minister of war, although he did not succeed le Tellier till 1666. He reformed the army, and his reforms lasted as long as the old monarchy. He preserved the system of voluntary enlistment; he diminished the abuses and the danger of it. He established the use of uniforms, instituted magazines of provisions and supplies, barracks, military hospitals, and the Hôtel des Invalides; also the corps of engineers, the schools of artillery, the companies of grenadiers, the regiments of hussars, and companies of cadets.

The army still felt the influence of feudal times. The soldier belonged less to the king than to his colonel; the cavalry had too much prominence, and the nobility would serve nowhere else. With the reign of Louis XIV. the French infantry became, and it long remained, the best in the world. Louvois substituted the musket and bayonet for the pike as its characteristic arm. He revolutionized the army by establishing a fixed order of promotion and by organizing inspection. He did not abolish the sale of commissions, which was operated for the sole benefit of the nobles; but a certain amount of service became a prerequisite to advancement, and promotions, beginning with the rank of colonel, became dependent upon seniority. The nobility attacked with bitter hatred the minister who humbled "men born to command others." Louvois exacted, with inflexible firmness, that each man should do his duty; to be sure of this, he instituted inspectors-general, who continually upheld the king's authority and his own, and stern reproof was the lot of the negligent officers. With such care, France was enabled to arm 125,000 men for the war in Flanders; for the war with the Netherlands, 180,000; before the treaty of Ryswyk, 300,000; during the wars of the Spanish succession, 450,000.

Fortification of the Frontiers; Vauban. — There was one subject, the only one perhaps, upon which the minister of war and the minister of marine acted in concert: this was the fortification of the kingdom. For the accomplishment of this great work they engaged the man who, next to Colbert, is the greatest of this reign. Le Prestre de Vauban was a gentleman of very small fortune, born near Saulieu, in Burgundy (1633). His father had died in the service. A prior of the neighborhood took him in and brought him up. He was just seventeen years old when the disturbances

of the Fronde were at their height. One morning Vauban ran off and joined the great Condé; he fought well and studied better. The good prior had taught him some little geometry; he continued the study, and those early lessons influenced his career. After joining the royal army he served under the most celebrated French engineer of his time. As early as 1663 he had gained such a reputation that Louis XIV. placed him in charge of the fortifications of Dunkirk. This first work of the young engineer was a masterpiece. From that time Vauban was the one man indispensably necessary to all generals when laying siege to cities. In time of war he captured cities, in time of peace he fortified them. It has been estimated that he worked upon three hundred existing fortresses, constructed thirty-three new ones, conducted fifty-three sieges, and took part in one hundred and forty active engagements.

France was not deficient in natural frontiers save on the northeast, from the Rhine to Dunkirk. The barrier which nature had denied, was given to France by Vauban. Beside Dunkirk, he armed Lille, Metz, and Strassburg with their then formidable fortresses. He constructed Maubeuge, repaired Charlemont, and connected these two places with Philippeville, in order to cover Picardy. He closed the outlet of the Ardennes between the Meuse and the Moselle by Longwy. In the valley of the Moselle, the special route of invasion from Germany, he doubled the strength of Metz by constructing Thionville. He built Saarlouis between the Moselle and the Vosges, to cover Lorraine. Bitsch and Pfalzburg became the principal defences of the Vosges, Landau the bulwark of Alsace; and this province, recently conquered, was firmly secured to France by several strong fortresses, and especially Strassburg. Between the Vosges and the Jura he fortified Bel-fort. He added new works at Besançon and at Briançon, and built Mont-Dauphin almost on the ridge of the Alps. The Pyrenees offered only two passes practicable to armies; Vauban built Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port and Mont-Louis to cover them. He visited the coasts several times and left everywhere traces of his presence. He erected fortifications at Antibes and transformed Toulon. He reconstructed the walls of Rochelle on a new plan, built the fortress of the Isle of Ré and fortified Brest. His plans for Cherbourg and Havre were not carried out. Boulogne received some new works; he constructed important ones at Calais.

Vauban, who fortified places, knew still better how to capture them. He advanced slowly but surely; he marched under cover of his lines, so that the troops were sufficiently within reach of each other for mutual support, never made outright attacks when they could be dispensed with, was sparing of the common soldiers, who had formerly been sacrificed with prodigality, and attained his end incomparably sooner. No fortress proved impregnable to him. The invention of the socket, which enables infantry to fire with the bayonet on the end of the gun, is also due to him.

In his many journeys around the frontiers by land and sea Vauban had an eye to commercial as well as to military situations; he multiplied military plans, but was not neglectful of those which would encourage agriculture and peaceful industry. He marked out havens, canals to be dug, piers and dams to be constructed; he pointed out methods of improving the navigation of the streams and rivers. Colbert himself possessed no higher degree of love for the public welfare than did this great citizen.

Legislative Reforms.—In 1665 Colbert proposed to re-construct the whole legislation of France; he demanded at the outset that justice should be free, that the sale of offices should be abolished, that the number of monks should be diminished, and the useful professions encouraged. A commission was appointed, composed of councillors of State and “masters of requests.” When the work was completed they discussed it with prominent members of Parliament, in the presence of ministers, and under the presidency of Chancellor Séguier, and sometimes under that of the king. Six codes were the result of these deliberations; in 1667 the *civil ordinance*, or Code Louis, which abolished some unjust forms of judicial procedure which had come down from the Middle Ages, and abridged others; in 1669, that of *waters and forests*, the principal provisions of which are still in force; in 1670, the *ordinance of criminal instruction*, which limited the application of torture and various cases of provisory imprisonment, dictated uniform rules for all courts, but permitted neither counsel nor defence for the accused in capital cases, and retained the atrocious severity of penalties; in 1673, the *ordinance of commerce*, a really glorious achievement of Colbert; in 1681, that of the *marine and colonies*; in 1685, the *black code*, which regulated the condition of the negroes in the French colonies. These or-

finances are the greatest work of codification which was executed from Justinian's time to Napoleon's. A portion of them are still in force; the ordinance of the marine composes almost all the second book of the present French code of commerce.

De Lionne; Foreign and Diplomatic Affairs. — If Colbert and Louvois assisted Louis XIV. to make successful warfare by the re-establishment of finances, the creation of a marine, and the reformation of the army, Lionne, secretary of State, also paved the way to success by his negotiations. Moreover, the king paid close attention to this department; he himself wrote the first despatches to the ambassadors, frequently made rough draughts of the most important letters, and always read the instructions sent out in his name. When Lionne died, in 1671, the king appointed, as his successor, the Marquis of Pomponne, who had managed successfully several embassies. Pomponne directed all the negotiations which brought about the peace of Nymwegen; but Louis found him far inferior to Lionne.

Centralization. — Some of the ministers of Louis XIV., and particularly Colbert and Louvois, were certainly great administrators, but they were not and never could be great statesmen. Colbert himself only endeavored to make France richer, in order to make the king more powerful. All of them labored to build up that excessive centralization which enveloped the whole country, its industry, its commerce, its body and soul, with a thousand bonds of minute regulations, so that the initiative of the ministers constantly took the place of the free action of individuals and communities. The result of this system was that France lived less by her own life than by that of the government. When age and sickness should weaken the hand which was felt everywhere, everything would decline. But for the present, at any rate, and for twenty years yet, this government, which constituted itself the universal guardian, was to give the people security, glory, and prosperity, in compensation for the liberty of which it deprived them.

CHAPTER LI.

LOUIS XIV.—EXTERNAL HISTORY AND CONQUESTS
FROM 1661-1679.

State of Europe in 1661.—Louis XIV. had skilful ministers, the most united and best situated kingdom in Europe, an authority which never experienced any opposition, finances which Colbert had put in good order, an army which Louvois had organized under the best generals, and behind this army a brave nation of twenty millions of souls. Meanwhile Spain was approaching that utter decay towards which the inordinate ambition of Philip II. had hastened her: Philip IV. (1621-1665) had lost Catalonia and the kingdom of Naples for several years; Artois, Cerdaña, Roussillon, and Portugal, forever. Germany was chaos itself. Austria, governed by a prince of inferior ability, Leopold I. (1657-1705), was without influence in the Empire, and had enough to do to defend herself against the Turks. Italy no longer counted for anything. Sweden was exhausted by her heroic efforts under the great Gustavus. The English had just re-established the dynasty of the Stuarts (1660), which by its opposition to the national sentiment was for a quarter of a century to neutralize their influence and hinder their prosperity. Finally, though the Netherlands were rich and their navy powerful, they were without territory, and consequently without lasting strength. Louis XIV., as he contemplated Europe when he determined to take the government into his own hands, saw there neither king nor people who could equal him and France; and the first acts of his foreign policy revealed a sense of his own dignity, even a haughtiness which is astonishing, but which was justified by success.

First Acts of the Foreign Policy of Louis XIV.—His ambassador at London was insulted by the followers of the Spanish ambassador in a question of precedence. Hearing of this, the king recalled his envoy at Madrid, sent home the Spanish envoy, and threatened his father-in-law with war

if he did not make most satisfactory amends. Philip IV. agreed (1662), and the Count of Fuentes declared in his name, at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the court and the foreign ambassadors, "that the Spanish ministers should not henceforth contend for precedence with those of France." Pope Alexander VII. was forced to undergo a similar humiliation. Portugal was feebly defending her independence against the Spaniards; Louis helped to seat the house of Braganza upon the throne (1665). The Barbary pirates infested the Mediterranean; the king constituted himself protector of all the nations bordering on the sea or navigating it. His admiral, the Duke of Beaufort, gave chase to the pirates with fifteen ships, set fire to their dens in Algiers and Tunis, and forced these barbarians to respect the name of France and the commerce of Christian nations (1665). The new king of England, Charles II., sold Dunkirk to Louis for five millions (1662): it was immediately surrounded by strong fortifications, and became an object of regret and terror to the English. At the same time he concluded an alliance with the States-General in order to secure in advance their neutrality toward his projects against Spain. War having broken out, in 1665, between the Dutch and the English, Louis joined the former, but was careful not to engage many of his ships. By the treaty of Breda he restored three West India islands to the English in exchange for Acadia (1667).

Louis aided the emperor against the Turks, and the Venetians in the defence of Candia. This assistance lent to the enemies of the Turks was a deviation from the ancient policy of France. Louis would soon also renounce the other parts of its policy, the alliance with the Protestant States. He was to undertake to play the part of Charles V. and Philip II., — that of armed chief of Catholicism and absolute monarch. He was to aim, as they did, at preponderance in Europe, and this ambition was to be the misfortune of France as it had already been of Spain.

War in Flanders (1667); Right of Devolution. — The death of the king of Spain in 1665 was the occasion of the first war of Louis XIV. Philip IV. left only one son, four years old, the child of his second wife. The infanta Maria Theresa, who had been for six years queen of France, was born of a former marriage. It was the custom in the Netherlands that the paternal heritage should *devolve* upon the children

of the first marriage, to the exclusion of the second. Louis XIV. accordingly claimed these provinces in the name of his wife. The court of Spain maintained that this right of devolution was a civil custom which could not be applied to the transmission of states; and that moreover the infanta, on marrying, had renounced all right to the monarchy of her father. The French ministry replied that the renunciations were null because Maria Theresa was a minor at the time, and because her dower had not been paid. But the king of France counted much more on his arms than on his reasons. The Southern Netherlands, the natural continuation of the French territory and the French idiom, had no aversion to a union with France.

"Spain lacked a navy, an army, and money. She had no longer any commerce; her manufactures of Seville and Segovia had greatly declined; agriculture was destroyed; the population which had amounted to twenty millions under Arab rule, was now reduced to six millions" (Mignet). In order to deprive her of all help from outside, Louis XIV. made sure of the neutrality of England and the United Provinces, obtained from the German princes of the League of the Rhine a promise to furnish him troops, and even won over the emperor.

It was a military promenade rather than an invasion. The king entered Flanders with fifty thousand men and Turenne (1667). Town after town fell, only Lille making any serious resistance. In three months the entire province was subjugated. At the approach of winter a truce was proposed to the Spaniards: the governor of the Netherlands, Castel-Rodrigo, haughtily refused it. This fit of pride was punished by additional loss of territory. Preparations having been made with the utmost secrecy, suddenly ten thousand men collected by twenty different routes assembled the same day in Franche-Comté, a few leagues from Besançon, and the great Condé appeared at their head. In three weeks Franche-Comté was subjugated.

These rapid successes disturbed the neighboring states, especially the Netherlands; they concluded with England and Sweden the Triple Alliance, which offered its mediation to France, and imposed it upon Spain. Turenne and Condé desired that no attention should be paid to it, and promised the conquest of the Netherlands before the end of the campaign. They were right, for none of the three medi-

atorial powers were ready for the war. But this time Louis XIV. was not bold enough. The king of Spain seemed about to die, and had no heir. Louis thought it was useless to fight for a few cities when he was going to obtain an empire, and signed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), which took from him Franche-Comté and left him only his conquests in Flanders.

Causes of War with Holland. — Louis XIV. did not forgive the Dutch for this interference in his affairs. He had been shocked by the republican liberty of their ambassador, Van Beuningen, *schepens* of Amsterdam, in the conferences of Aix-la-Chapelle. He complained also of the insolence of their journalists, and particularly of the insulting medals which had been struck off after the peace.

But however absolute a king may be, he does not set Europe on fire for such trifles. What historians have called a war of medals, that is, of personal resentment, was also a war of tariffs. Louis XIV. doubtless was not fond of those proud republicans; but Colbert detested them as commercial rivals of the French. The Dutch, attacked by tariffs, defended themselves by additional duties on French wines, brandies, and manufactures (1668). Louvois, for his part, considered that "the true method of succeeding in the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands was to humiliate the Dutch." Thus it happened that the minister of finance was not opposed to the plans of the minister of war, and the king himself was influenced by his resentments to accept them. Yet it was an impolitic war, which overthrew the whole system of alliances with the Protestant states established by Henry IV. and Richelieu. But Louis XIV. was much more the successor of Philip II. than the heir of the Béarnais.

Alliances formed against Holland. — Louis first undertook to dissolve the Triple Alliance. It was not difficult to detach Sweden, the ancient ally of France, by an annual subsidy. England would have hesitated longer if she had been consulted, but Louis XIV. made his application to the king. Charles II., entertaining ideas of absolutism, wished to govern without the assistance of Parliament, and in order to obtain the money he needed, allowed himself to be pensioned by France. Henrietta, sister of Charles II. and wife of Philip of Orleans, went to Dover, under pretext of visiting her brother, and induced him to unite with Louis

XIV. against the United Provinces (1670). At the same time De Lionne renewed the treaties with the emperor and the princes of the League of the Rhine, who promised their neutrality or their co-operation.

This diplomatic campaign was terminated in 1671. In the following spring hostilities broke out. Thirty ships joined the English fleet of sixty. Ninety thousand men were assembled along the line from Sedan to Charleroi; the German princes furnished about twenty thousand more. The king led this magnificent army in person; Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, commanded under him; Vauban was to take the cities. What could the Netherlands oppose to such an enemy? They had a formidable navy; admirals who had been, up to that time, regarded as the greatest of the age, — Van Tromp and De Ruyter; rich colonies; an immense commerce; but they could count upon scarcely twenty-five thousand militiamen, badly equipped and without discipline, and upon the men promised them by the elector of Brandenburg. They were, moreover, weakened by internal divisions; there were two parties: one, directed by John de Witt, grand pensioner of Holland, was entirely devoted to the cause of aristocratic liberty; the other desired to reinstate the young Prince of Orange in the official position held by his ancestors, and, taking advantage of the present danger, caused him to be appointed captain-general at the age of twenty-two years.

Invasion of the Netherlands (1672). — Meantime Louis XIV. was advancing along the Meuse, in the territories of the bishop of Liège, his ally, then along the right bank of the Rhine from Wesel to Toll-Huys. There some of the country people informed the Prince of Condé that the drought of the season had rendered the river fordable. The approach was easy, and only four or five hundred cavalry and two small regiments of infantry without cannon were to be seen on the other shore. The king and his great army therefore crossed almost unopposed and without the slightest difficulty. Such was King Louis's passage of the Rhine, celebrated as if it had been one of the greatest events that had occurred within the memory of man.

The Rhine crossed, the Netherlands were open to invasion. The provinces of Overijssel, Gelderland, and Utrecht submitted without attempting to defend themselves; there was scarcely an hour in the day that the king did not receive



TURENNE.

From a print in the National Library.



news of some conquest. The generals proposed to march without delay upon Amsterdam. Louis preferred first to garrison the towns; the army was consequently weakened and its operations retarded. Then the Dutch took courage, and placing all power in the hands of one man, elevated William of Orange to the stadtholderate. At the same time the infuriated populace tore into pieces the illustrious leaders of the republican party, John and Cornelius de Witt.

First Coalition against France (1673).—The Prince of Orange at once gave a new turn to affairs; he cut the dykes around Amsterdam and forced the French to retire before the flood. He sent ambassadors to all the courts of Europe to stir them up against France; he treated with Spain, with the Duke of Lorraine, and with the emperor. Several princes of the League of the Rhine deserted. The result was the Grand Alliance of the Hague, the first of the great coalitions against France.

Campaign of 1673; Capture of Maastricht.—But while the alliance was making its preparations Louis invested Maastricht, and Vauban took it for him. Marshal Luxembourg held the Dutch in check; Turenne, who the preceding winter had driven the elector of Brandenburg as far as the Elbe, stopped the imperial forces, and the navy, aided by England, fought four battles against De Ruyter. In the last months of the year the imperial forces gathered in greater numbers, effected a junction with the Prince of Orange, captured Bonn, and quartered themselves in the electorate of Cologne.

Conquest of Franche-Comté (1674).—The war was becoming European. Louis XIV. changed its plan. He abandoned the Netherlands, turned all his forces against Spain, and advanced upon Franche-Comté. This second conquest was almost as rapid as the first; Besançon was taken in nine days, and the whole province in six weeks: it has remained ever since in the possession of France.

Turenne saves Alsace (1674–1675).—The allies meditated, for this year, a formidable double invasion of France, by way of Lorraine and the Netherlands. Turenne was to prevent the one attack; Condé, the other. Turenne took the offensive; he passed the Rhine at Philippsburg, with twenty thousand men, burned the Palatinate, gained a number of small battles (July, 1674), in which he exhibited tactical

resources hitherto unknown. But his military science could not always compensate for the want of numbers. Strassburg, violating its neutrality, allowed seventy thousand Germans to pass into Alsace. It was believed at court that the province was lost, and Louvois ordered the marshal to retire into Lorraine. But Turenne appealed to the king for liberty of action. He remained in Alsace as long as he thought proper, annoyed the enemy incessantly, and, winter coming on, repassed the Vosges as if to take up his quarters in Lorraine. Suddenly, at the beginning of December, he broke up camp, traversed the whole length of the Vosges, and, after a march of twenty days over frightful roads, fell upon the imperial forces, who supposed that he was fifty leagues away: he defeated them at Mülhausen, at Colmar, at Türkheim, and drove them beyond the Rhine with great loss. This campaign, prepared with so much secrecy, executed with such far-seeing skill, and terminated in six weeks, excited enthusiasm throughout all France.

Battle of Senef (1674). — While Turenne was victoriously driving back the invaders in the east, Condé was preventing ninety thousand Spaniards and Dutch from entering Champagne. He had entrenched himself in a position which the Prince of Orange dared not attack. Then, following the latter, he attacked his rear-guard at Senef, where a very obstinate and bloody battle was fought. The next day the two armies separated with a loss of seven or eight thousand men on each side. Condé forced the Prince of Orange to raise the siege of Oudenarde; but Grave, the last remnant of the French conquests in the Netherlands, soon after opened its gates.

Last Campaign of Turenne and Condé (1675). — In the spring Turenne again began operations in the Palatinate. The emperor sent Montecuccoli, who was considered a consummate tactician, to oppose him. They occupied six weeks in following and watching each other. Finally they were about to give battle near Salzbach, when the marshal, while examining the position of a battery, was killed by a stray shot. His death was a public calamity. Louis XIV. had him interred at St. Denis, in the burial-place of kings. By Turenne's death all the fruits of a well-conducted campaign were lost; the French, discouraged, fled towards the Rhine: Montecuccoli penetrated into Alsace. At the same time the Duke of Lorraine hastened to besiege Trier with

twenty thousand men; Créqui endeavored to aid him, but was beaten at Consarbrück, and forced to capitulate.

After the death of Turenne, the Prince of Condé was sent into Alsace to stop the progress of Montecuccoli and reanimate the courage of the troops. He compelled the imperial forces to raise the siege of Zabern and Hagenau, and to recross the Rhine. This was his last achievement; he ceased to appear at the head of armies, and retired to Chantilly, where he lived among men of letters, philosophers even, till 1686.

Campaign of 1676; Naval Victories; Duquesne and D'Estrées.—The following year the warfare of sieges, which Louis XIV. preferred, was renewed. Condé and Bouchain were captured; Maastricht, besieged by the Prince of Orange, was delivered; but the Germans recaptured Philippsburg. An unexpected triumph consoled France for these reverses and trifling victories. The inhabitants of Messina, being in revolt against Spain, had placed themselves under the protection of Louis XIV. (1675): he sent them a fleet with Duquesne as second in command. This great sailor, born at Dieppe in 1610, had first been owner and captain of a privateer; in the royal navy he passed through all the grades and became lieutenant-general, but could go no higher because of being a Protestant. On the coasts of Sicily he had, as opponents, De Ruyter and the Spaniards. A first battle, near the island of Stromboli, was indecisive (1676); a second, off Syracuse, resulted in a complete victory, and De Ruyter was killed. After crushing the enemy's fleet in a final encounter at Palermo, France had for some time the empire of the Mediterranean (1676). In that same year D'Estrées recaptured Cayenne and destroyed in the port of Tobago a squadron of ten of the enemy's vessels. In 1678 he captured the island itself and all the Dutch factories in Senegal. The French flag was supreme on the Atlantic as well as on the Mediterranean.

Campaign of 1677; Créqui and Luxembourg; Battle of Cassel.—Créqui had succeeded to Turenne in Germany and Luxembourg to Condé in the Netherlands. The first conducted a campaign worthy of Turenne. By a succession of skilful marches he protected Lorraine and Alsace against an adversary superior in numbers, and took Freiburg, thus transferring the war to the right bank of the Rhine. The second, with the king's assistance, took Valenciennes, then

Cambrai, and, with Monsieur, gained the victory of Cassel over the Prince of Orange. Ghent opened her gates the following year.

Defection of England (1678).—An unforeseen event decided Louis to make peace. The English viewed with anxiety the progress of his influence on the continent, and particularly the development of his navy; they were murmuring against their own king, bound by alliance to this formidable neighbor; the national opposition became every day more active in Parliament. After 1674 Charles II. had ceased to act against the Dutch; in 1678 he was forced to unite with them, to consent to the marriage of his niece Mary with the stadtholder, and to declare himself against France.

Treaty of Nymwegen (1678) ; General Pacification (1679).—Thereupon Louis XIV. made proposals of peace to the United Provinces. The Prince of Orange tried to break up the negotiations by surprising, at St. Denis, Marshal Luxembourg, who was confiding in an armistice; but he was repulsed after a desperate engagement of six hours.

The Netherlands, England, Spain, and the emperor negotiated with Louis at Nymwegen, the elector of Brandenburg at Saint-Germain, the king of Denmark at Fontainebleau (August, 1678–September, 1679). Again it was Spain which paid the costs of the war; she abandoned Franche-Comté, and, in the Netherlands, gave up the last two cities of Artois, with twelve other places, — Valenciennes, Cambrai, etc., — which Vauban immediately covered with fortifications so as to make them a barrier for France. But deviating from the commercial policy of Colbert, France conceded to the Dutch the abolition of the tariff of 1667, much to the injury of the merchant marine, as well as of French industries.

The treaty of Nymwegen marks the zenith of the reign of Louis XIV.; only a short time after, the magistrates of Paris conferred upon him the title of the Great. But successful as this war had been, it was nevertheless the origin of the misfortunes of the latter part of the reign; for it had accustomed Europe to league together against France, and had pointed out the man whom she should take for chief of her councils, and the country which should be the mainstay of resistance. The war with the Netherlands prepared the future greatness of William III. and England. If Louis

XIV. had continued the ally of the Dutch, a great navy would have been united to that of France, to contend with the English for the control of the ocean. When, on the contrary, the United Provinces had joined forces with Great Britain, France had, instead of an adversary within reach, an enemy with whom she could never quite grapple.

CHAPTER LII.

THE LAST PART OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

(1679-1715 A.D.)

Conquests of Louis XIV. in Time of Peace; Reunion of Strassburg to France. — After the treaty of Nymwegen the nations disbanded their troops. Louis retained his, and made the peace a time of conquest. The last treaties had delivered over to him a certain number of cities and cantons, *with their dependencies*. In order to find out what these dependencies were, he established at Tournai, Metz, Breisach, and Besançon commissions called *chambers of reunion*, because appointed for the purpose of reuniting to France lands claimed as having been cut off from the cities of Flanders, from the Trois-Evêchés, Alsace, and Franche-Comté. Decisions sustained by force gave Louis XIV. twenty important cities, Saarbrücken, Zweibrücken, Luxemburg, and Strassburg, which Vauban made the bulwark of the kingdom on the Rhine (1681). In Italy, Louis bought Casale from the Duke of Mantua, in order to control the northern part of the Peninsula.

Bombardment of Algiers and Genoa. — The Barbary pirates had recommenced their attacks. Old Duquesne was sent against them. Algiers was bombarded twice (1681-1683), destroyed in part, and obliged to give up her prisoners. Tunis and Tripoli experienced the same fate; the Mediterranean was for a time freed from privateers. The Genoese had sold arms and ammunition to the Algerines, and were building four ships of war for Spain. Louis forbade their arming these galleys; on their refusing, Duquesne and Seignelay bombarded the city (1684). The doge was obliged to come to Versailles to ask pardon of the king, in spite of an ancient law which ordered that the chief magistrate should never leave the city.

The Pope, even, was again humiliated. The Catholic ambassadors at Rome had extended the right of asylum, claimed for their hôtels, to the whole quarter in which they lived.

Innocent XI. endeavored to put an end to this abuse, which made one-half of the city a refuge for criminals; but Louis XIV. sent troops to maintain his ambassador in the possession of an unjust privilege; the Pope excommunicated the ambassador; the king seized Avignon (1687). This affair was not without its influence on the war of 1688. The French candidate for the archiepiscopal chair at Cologne, the cardinal of Fürstenberg, had been elected by the majority of the chapter. Innocent XI. nevertheless gave the investiture to his competitor, Clement of Bavaria. Louis protested against this nomination and sent troops to occupy Bonn, Neuss, and Kaiserswerth (October, 1688). At the same time he claimed a part of the Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law, the second wife of the Duke of Orleans.

League of Augsburg (1686).— These conquests, made in time of peace, these outrages, and the overbearing conduct of Louis aroused the fears of Europe. In 1681 the empire, the emperor Leopold, Spain, the Netherlands, and even Sweden, had concluded, under the influence of William of Orange, a secret alliance for the maintenance of the peace of Nymwegen. Seeing that the ambition of Louis XIV. knew no bounds, they allied themselves more closely, and signed the League of Augsburg (1688): Savoy acceded to it in the following year; England, in 1689.

Internal Condition of France; Death of Colbert (1683).— What was the situation of France at this critical moment? A sort of fatigue began to be felt in that society, still so brilliant and apparently so prosperous. The enormous expenses of the late war, the great cost of the maintenance of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men in time of peace, the constructions, whether for luxury or for utility, had destroyed the equilibrium of the finances, forced an increase of taxation, and dealt a great blow at agriculture and commerce. The frightful miseries of 1662 reappeared.

In vain Colbert preached economy; the abyss of the deficit continued to enlarge. Colbert exhausted his ingenuity in finding means to fill it up. He groaned at having to put back the finances into the condition in which he had found them, and to see foreign competition once more crush out French commerce and industry. He was overcome by these troubles, and died in 1683, at the age of sixty years, worn out by excessive labors, and killed, perhaps, by the unjust reproaches of the king. Colbert, like some other great

French ministers, was unpopular. The people cursed the man who wrote out edicts for extraordinary taxation, not the man who dictated them. It was found necessary to bury at night, under guard, one of the benefactors of France, in order to prevent his funeral procession from being insulted by the populace. After his death, his ministry was divided: the Marquis of Seignelay, his son, had the department of marine; the finances were assigned to Le Pelletier, and afterwards to Pontchartrain.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).—It was two years after the death of Colbert that Louis XIV. committed the greatest mistake of his reign, by revoking the edict of Nantes. The Protestants had not stirred during the disturbances of the Fronde. Yet vexatious measures against them were multiplied. Louis hated them for their heresy, and because he suspected that they had little liking for absolute monarchy. Religious unity seemed to him as necessary as political unity. For a long time he refrained from persecuting them, but took care to construe their rights with the most narrow strictness. Colbert did better; he protected the Protestants as useful and industrious subjects. He employed many of them in the arts, in manufactures, and in the naval service. Duquesne, the great admiral, and Van Robais, the great manufacturer of Abbeville, were Protestants.

After the treaty of Nymwegen the different influences which were brought to bear upon Louis XIV., then growing old, drove the government to harsh measures. The king had, at that time, sharp contests with the Holy See, on the subject of the *regale*, and had induced the clergy of France to take his part by the celebrated declaration of 1682, which Bossuet drew up. But he did not wish that his religious zeal should be doubted, and in order to give a strong proof of it, which should, at the same time, be of use to himself, he yielded to the earnest persuasions of the Church with regard to the Protestants. The securities which the edict of Nantes had assured to them were taken away by the suppression of the half-Protestant chambers in the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, as were, also, all the liberties granted them by Richelieu and Mazarin: they were forbidden, successively, to act as notaries, solicitors, advocates, experts, printers, booksellers, physicians, surgeons, or even apothecaries. Thus they were compelled,

driven as they were from all the public offices and liberal professions, to devote themselves to commerce and industry, which they monopolized almost entirely. Catholics were forbidden to embrace Calvinism, while the children of Protestants were allowed to renounce their religion at the age of seven years. Missions were multiplied in the provinces; consciences were bought by payments of money. Louvois resorted to still more persuasive means. He quartered soldiers in the houses of the Calvinists. These *missionaries in jackboots* committed the greatest excesses. As the dragons were especially noted for acts of violence, these measures were called the *dragonnades*.

Finally, the last blow was struck; on October 22, 1685, an edict revoked that of Nantes. It suppressed all the privileges granted by Henry IV. and Louis XIII.; deprived Protestants of the public exercise of their worship, except in Alsace; ordered the ministers to leave the kingdom within a fortnight, and forbade the others to follow them, under pain of the galleys and confiscation of their property. Terrible consequences ensued; the Protestants had no longer any civil rights, their marriages were regarded as null, their children as bastards. The property of all those who were proved heretics was confiscated, and a great number of ministers were executed.

This disastrous and criminal measure was hailed with gratitude by a great part of the nation. Vauban, Saint Simon, Catinat, and a few superior minds alone comprehended the evil which had been done to the country. Madame de Sévigné wrote in a letter: "Nothing could be finer; no king ever did, or ever will do, anything so memorable." The old chancellor Le Tellier, then dying, rallied sufficiently upon signing the edict to cry out: *Nunc dimitte servum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum!* He did not see that he was sanctioning one of the greatest misfortunes of France. Two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand Protestants crossed the frontier in the last years of the seventeenth century, in spite of the king's police, and carried to foreign lands the French arts, the secrets of French manufactures, and hatred of their king. Entire regiments of Calvinists were formed in the Netherlands, in England, and in Germany; those who remained in the kingdom only awaited an opportunity to throw off the yoke. Marshal Schomberg left the country; the aged Duquesne,

vainly pressed by Louis XIV. to abjure, was permitted to die in France.

There were, in 1685, a million Calvinists in France; there are at the present day, fifteen or eighteen hundred thousand. And who can estimate the effect which this great persecution had upon the sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century! At the moment, it caused the outburst of a terrible war against France, which inaugurated the period of reverses.

The Revolution in England (1688). — The response of the Protestant powers to the revocation of the Edict was the English revolution, which, in 1688, drove James II. from the throne, and placed the Calvinist, William III., in his place. Twice did Louis XIV. make the fortune of his most formidable adversary: in 1672, when by an unjust war he rendered William of Orange necessary to the Netherlands; in 1688, when, by his close alliance with a king odious to his subjects, he secured popularity in England for this rough and ungracious prince, who spoke English with difficulty and cared much more for the affairs of the continent than those of Great Britain. The revolution which gave him the throne of James II. effected more than simply a change of royal personages. It substituted royalty by consent for royalty by divine right, and established constitutional or parliamentary government. A new right, that of the people, arose in modern society, in opposition to the absolute right of kings, which for two centuries had ruled over it, and which had just realized its most glorious impersonation in France. The desperate struggle which broke out between France and England is, therefore, not to be wondered at. There were not only two contrary interests, but two different political rights struggling for the mastery. England became the centre of all the coalitions against the house of Bourbon, as France had been the centre of resistance to the house of Austria. This political change reversed all the conditions of the war. England having joined the enemies of France, it was necessary to maintain not only armies on the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Alps, but also fleets on the ocean and in the most distant seas. It was this twofold effort which exhausted France.

War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697). — The coalition declared war February 5, 1689. Louis had, ready to oppose it, 350,000 soldiers and 264 vessels or

frigates. He adopted a plan both simple and courageous. The soul of the coalition was William of Orange; Louis XIV. gave James II. a fleet to assist him regaining his throne. Spain and Savoy were the weakest states of the League; he turned against them the greater part of his forces, while maintaining the defensive on the Rhine. Louis had, moreover, skilful captains, Luxembourg, Catinat, Boufflers, and Tourville.

Attempts to Re-establish James II. ; Tourville. — The war in behalf of James II. was at first successful. A squadron conveyed the prince to Ireland (May, 1689). Convoys of troops, arms, and ammunition also set out. England and the Dutch endeavored to stop their passage; Tourville with seventy-eight ships attacked their fleet off Beachy Head, and gained a brilliant victory (July, 1690) which gave Louis XIV., for a time, the empire of the ocean. But James lost precious time at the siege of Londonderry. William attacked him at the Boyne (July, 1690). The Irish fled with their king at the first attack, and the French alone offered any resistance. James was obliged to return to France.

Louis XIV. then prepared for a descent upon England herself. Twenty thousand men were assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue; three hundred transports were held in readiness at Brest. The king ordered Tourville with forty-six ships to encounter the enemy's fleet of ninety-nine sails. The result was the battle of La Hogue (1692). Tourville stood his ground manfully for ten hours against the Anglo-Dutch, and would have made at least a glorious retreat if he had had a port behind him: seven of his vessels reached Brest; twenty-two passed through the Race of Alderney and entered Saint-Malo; three stopped at Cherbourg, where they were burned; and twelve took refuge in the harbor of La Hogue. Tourville removed the cannons, ammunition, and rigging from them, and at the approach of the English, the hulls of his ships were set on fire. This was the first blow given to the military marine of France; the re-establishment of the Stuarts in England became impossible.

Defensive War on the Rhine; Burning of the Palatinate (1689). — In 1688 the dauphin entered Germany with eighty thousand men, and Marshal Duras as adviser. Philippsburg, Mannheim, Worms, Oberwesel, were taken in a few weeks. It was not the design of the French minister to

retain them; the Palatinate was burned again, this time with great cruelty (1689). Speyer was completely destroyed. The French sacked the magnificent castle of Heidelberg; one hundred thousand inhabitants, driven from their country by the flames, went about through Germany demanding vengeance. The king himself regretted these horrible executions, and his dissatisfaction might have been the prelude of a disgrace, had not Louvois died (1691). He was succeeded by his son Barbezieux, who had none of his qualities. The Duke of Lorges, the successor of Duras, contented himself with protecting Alsace from the imperial forces, who could not subsist in the Palatinate. The war then remained defensive on the Rhine; the great blows were struck elsewhere.

War in Savoy and Piedmont; Catinat. — The commander in Italy was Catinat, a man of humble birth, who had risen to his position by his own merit. In order to bring the Duke of Savoy to a decisive engagement before the arrival of the German troops, he devastated the country districts of Piedmont. Victor Amadeus fought the battle of Staffarda (1690), and lost four thousand men; while the French had only five hundred killed and won Savoy, Nice, and the greater part of Piedmont. But a relative of the duke, Prince Eugene, whose services Louis XIV. had refused, and who had then offered them to Austria, arrived with powerful re-enforcements, and invaded France. Dauphiny suffered cruel retaliation for the burning of the Palatinate and the ravaging of Piedmont (1692). Catinat, however, re-crossed the Alps; a second battle took place near Marsaglia (1693), and was as disastrous for Victor Amadeus as the previous one; little was now left him but Turin, and Catinat would have taken that if the war minister had not reduced his forces.

War in the Netherlands; Luxembourg. — Luxembourg had served, at first, under the great Condé, whom he greatly resembled in bravery and quickness of insight. In 1690 he encountered the Prince of Waldeck near Fleurus, killed six thousand of his men, and carried off a hundred standards, his cannon, baggage, and eight thousand prisoners. Master of the open county, he invested Mons; Louis XIV. was present at the siege. William, having got rid of James II., hastened over with eighty thousand men, but could not prevent the surrender of the city (April, 1691). The fol-

lowing year Luxembourg besieged Namur, the strongest position in the Netherlands, at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, and took it again, under the eyes of Louis XIV. and the enemy's army (June, 1692). This was one of the great sieges of the century. Vauban conducted it, and the operation is regarded as a model. Vauban's rival, Coehorn, defended the place.

But William, though always defeated, never grew weary. In August, 1692, he surprised Luxembourg at Steenkerk, in Hainault. Luxembourg was ill; the danger restored his strength; it was necessary that he should work wonders to save himself from defeat, and he did. A famous event of the battle was the charge made by four young princes of the blood, Philip of Orleans, Louis of Bourbon (grandson of Condé), the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Vendôme, "at the head of the king's household troops, for the purpose of driving off a body of English, who were holding an important post upon which the success of the battle depended. The carnage was terrible; the French finally carried the day. The regiment of Champagne defeated King William's guards; and when the English were overcome, the rest were obliged to give up. . . .

"William, having lost about seven thousand men, retired, in as good order as when he led the attack. The victory, due to the valor of all these young princes and the flower of the nobility, created, at the court, at Paris, and in the provinces, an effect produced by no battle which had ever before been won" (Voltaire).

The next year William of Orange ventured near Louvain with only fifty thousand men. Louis was in the vicinity with more than one hundred thousand; the whole army expected that a great blow was to be struck, but in spite of the supplications of Luxembourg, who, it is said, threw himself on his knees before him, the king declared the campaign finished, and returned to Versailles. From that day forth he never appeared with the army. His reputation abroad suffered much in consequence; yet, in fact, he did not lack personal courage.

The victories of Fleurus and Steenkerk had given Luxembourg Hainault and the province of Namur; he forced his way into Southern Brabant; but he found William III. again in front of him, strongly entrenched, at Neerwinden (July, 1693). Few battles have been more murderous;

Neerwinden was twice carried by the infantry, which, for the first time, resolutely made a bayonet charge. About twenty thousand were killed, of whom twelve thousand were on the side of the allies. After this success, the French might, perhaps, have marched on Brussels and dictated peace, but they contented themselves with besieging and taking Charleroi. The victory of Neerwinden was the last of Luxembourg's triumphs. The following campaign was marked by no unusual occurrence, and he died in January, 1695. His successor, the Duke of Villeroi, was incapable of doing anything remarkable, even with an army of eighty thousand men; he did not even prevent the Prince of Orange from taking Namur (August, 1695). But in Spain, Vendôme entered Barcelona (August, 1695), after a memorable siege.

On the sea, Tourville had, in 1693, avenged the disaster of La Hogue by a victory in the bay of Lagos, near Cape St. Vincent. In the following years extensive armaments were suspended, but privateers preyed upon the commerce of the English and Dutch, who, in revenge, made several attempts to land on the French coast. In America, Count Frontenac bravely defended Canada, taking the offensive on all sides, although the province had only eleven or twelve thousand inhabitants, and the English colonies had ten times as many.

Treaty of Ryswyk (1697). — But the war was now languishing; every one was exhausted. Louis proposed peace; Charles II. of Spain was almost dying; he would leave no child, and the question of the Spanish succession was at last about to be thrown open. It was important that the king should dissolve the European coalition before this great event occurred. He evinced unusual moderation. His first act was to detach the Duke of Savoy from the League (1696.) The defection of Victor Amadeus decided the others, and peace was signed at Ryswyk, near the Hague (October, 1697). Louis XIV. recognized William III. as lawful sovereign of England and Ireland. He restored his recent conquests in the Netherlands, in the Empire, and in Spain, with the exception of Strassburg, Landau, Longwy, and Saarlouis. He permitted the Dutch to garrison the most important places in Flanders, which the Spaniards seemed to be incapable of defending against him. He restored Lorraine, and abolished the tonnage duty of fifty

sous per ton, thus completely abandoning the commercial policy of Colbert. These concessions, which were extremely wounding to the king's pride, were greatly censured; but Louis hoped to repair the loss of a few cities by the acquisition of an empire.

Accession of a French Prince to the Throne of Spain (1700).

— Charles II. lingered three years more. To whom should his immense inheritance revert? The two houses of France and Austria, allied by marriage to that of Spain, each laid claim to it.¹ For Louis XIV. or Leopold to reign at Madrid would be the destruction of the balance of power in Europe. William III. proposed to Louis that they should divide the succession in advance, and two Partition Treaties were signed at the Hague. The first (1698) assigned the Spanish monarchy to the Prince of Bavaria, the Milanese to the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, the Two Sicilies, a few Tuscan ports, and Guipuzcoa, gifts useless or dangerous, to the dauphin. A second treaty, after the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, gave Spain to the archduke, and increased the French portion by the addition of Lorraine, a province which would fall into the hands of France at the first cannon shot (1700). This was no compensation for the danger of seeing an Austrian reigning in Brussels and Madrid.

These treaties had in the end no effect. The dying king was deeply indignant that proposals for the dismemberment of his monarchy should be made during his lifetime and without consulting him. In order to maintain the integrity of his states, he must bequeath them all either to Austria or to France. Austria was ill served by her ambassador at Madrid; France, on the contrary, had a skilful servant there. Charles II., by his last will and testament, called to the throne Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin (November 2, 1700). Twenty-eight days after he died.

¹ Louis XIV. and the Emperor Leopold, each the son of an infanta of Spain, had each also married an infanta. But Anne of Austria and Maria Theresa, who married into the house of France, were elder sisters of Maria Anna and Margaret Theresa, who married into the house of Austria. The son and grandson of Louis XIV. had therefore superior claims to those of Leopold, son of Maria Anna, and to those of the electoral prince of Bavaria, Ferdinand Joseph, grandson of Margaret Theresa. Leopold held up, as an objection, the renunciation of Maria Theresa, but the Spanish cortes had not been summoned in order to sanction it, and it was invalid from another point of view, the dowry of the infanta not having been paid.

Should Louis XIV. accept the testament or abide by the last treaty of the Hague? An extraordinary council was assembled; it was composed of only four persons besides the king,—the dauphin, the Duke of Beauvilliers, governor of the children of the house of France, Chancellor Pontchartrain, and the Marquis of Torcy, minister of foreign affairs. The latter was a nephew of the great Colbert, an exceedingly able and honest man. Various opinions were expressed, but Torcy justly remarked that war would ensue, no matter what decision was made. "It is better to fight for the whole," said he, "than for a part." Louis XIV. was silent, and for three days his determination was not known. He finally announced his consent to the Duke of Anjou, and presented him to the court with these words, "Gentlemen, the king of Spain." A few weeks later Philip V. set out for Madrid.

Third Coalition against France (1701–1713); Grand Alliance of the Hague.—Neither England nor the United Provinces wished to see the French in possession of the Spanish Netherlands. Great prudence and good management were requisite. The king, unfortunately, revealed his designs too quickly, and defied Europe with surprising levity. In spite of the formal clauses of the will of Charles II. he did not require Philip V. to make renunciation of the throne of France; thus alarming Europe with the thought of seeing France and Spain governed some day by the same king. A little later he drove the Dutch from the fortresses which they occupied in the Netherlands by virtue of the treaty of Ryswyk, and replaced them by French garrisons. Finally, upon the death of James II., he recognized his son, the Prince of Wales, as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, against the advice of all his ministers. This insult offered to the English people and to William III. rendered war inevitable.

A third coalition was formed, known as the Grand Alliance of the Hague (September, 1701), entered into by England, the Netherlands, Austria, the Empire, and a little later by Portugal. Louis XIV. had now no allies in all Europe, except the Elector of Bavaria and the dukes of Modena and Savoy. Spain took the part of the French, but had neither soldiers nor money nor vessels. William III. died in the month of March, 1702, but his policy survived him because it was national. Under his sister-in-law, Queen Anne, England continued to defend her threatened political and religious liberties and her commercial prosperity.

Marlborough ; Prince Eugene ; Heinsius. — Three celebrated men, Heinsius, Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, acting in the strictest unity, replaced the chief whom the league had just lost. Heinsius was grand pensioner of Holland, and directed the republic with the authority of a monarch. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, governed Queen Anne through his wife, the Parliament through his friends, the ministry through his son-in-law Sunderland, secretary of State, and the lord treasurer Godolphin, father-in-law of one of his daughters. Prince Eugene, born in France in 1663, son of a niece of Mazarin, belonged to the house of Savoy. He was destined for the ecclesiastical profession, but preferred that of arms, and at nineteen years of age asked Louis XIV. for a regiment. Louis refused to make a colonel of the "Savoyard abbé." Austria received him more favorably, and sent him into Italy to fight against Catinat. After the peace of Ryswyk he fought victoriously against the Turks and was then appointed president of the council of war. By the good understanding which he maintained with Marlborough he gave to the European coalition the union it had always needed.

Situation of France. — In order to triumph over so formidable adversaries France needed the great men of the preceding generation, but they were gone ; she was beginning to be exhausted ; the soldiers were lacking as well as the generals and ministers. The incompetent Chamillard succumbed under the double burden of finances and the war. The king undertook to direct him, and never, in fact, did he show more activity, devising plans and regulating the execution from his cabinet. But in truth he carried supervision too far.

First Campaigns in Germany, in Italy, and in the Netherlands (1701–1704). — It was the opinion of Louis XIV. that the war should be defensive on all sides except that toward Germany. Boufflers was sent to the Netherlands to oppose Marlborough, who commanded the English and Dutch army ; Catinat to Italy, to keep Prince Eugene and the imperials out of the Milanese ; Villars to Germany, to join the elector and march upon Vienna. For three years (1701–1704) the success of the two parties was equal. But in 1702 Marlborough forced his way into the Southern Netherlands in spite of the opposition of Boufflers. In 1701 Prince Eugene descended into Lombardy, in spite of

Catinat. The court displaced the latter and gave his army to Villeroi.

Villeroi; Defeat of Chiari (1701); Surprise of Cremona (1702).—This protégé of Madame de Maintenon was a good courtier, but an execrable general. From the moment of his arrival he took the offensive, scorning the advice of Catinat, who had consented to serve under him. He crossed the Oglio, hoping to surprise Eugene at Chiari, but was himself surprised and defeated. Villeroi then took up his quarters at Cremona. Eugene, in the dead of winter, attempted a surprise upon Cremona, and nearly succeeded. The enemy, after reaching the very heart of the city, was driven out of the gates, but carried off the marshal. Vendôme took his place.

Victories of Vendôme at Luzzara, of Villars at Friedlingen and at Höchstädt, of Tallard at Speyer (1702–1703).—This grandson of Henry IV. was a strange general; his morals were more than doubtful, and he never rose till four o'clock in the afternoon; but on the field of battle he showed quickness, cheerfulness, and fiery courage; often surprised, but never overcome, he carried on a successful war for two years against the Imperialists. He delivered Mantua, captured their magazines at Luzzara (1702), and was then able to approach the Tyrol. At this moment he was forced to retreat by the open defection of the Duke of Savoy. He seized upon the greater part of Piedmont and threatened Turin, but he made no more demonstrations against Austria.

There was the same success in Germany. Catinat, called to the Rhine, had not re-established there the reputation which he had compromised in Italy; but one of his lieutenants, Villars, attacked the Prince of Baden in the Black Forest, near Friedlingen, and won his marshal's baton on the field of battle (1702). The following year he drove back the Prince of Baden upon the lines of Stollhofen, and affected a junction with the Elector of Bavaria, who had also just beaten the Austrians (May, 1703). The road to Vienna was now open. Villars desired to hasten thither; but another plan was adopted, and failed to succeed. The French and Bavarians entered Innsbrück, while Vendôme was bombarding Trent. The defection of the Duke of Savoy recalled Vendôme from the Tyrol, and the elector and Villars had to abandon Innsbrück. They took their revenge upon the Count of Styrum, who was completely beaten in

the plains of Höchstädt (1703). Two months later the Imperialists experienced near Speyer a bloody defeat at the hands of Tallard.

The Camisards.—This victory was the end of the triumphs of France. Villars, unable to agree with the elector, demanded his recall. Louis XIV. sent him against the Protestant rebels in the Cévennes, the *Camisards*. These unfortunate people, severely persecuted, accepted the aid of England and the Duke of Savoy, eager to keep up a civil war in the heart of France, and in their turn avenged themselves by cruel deeds. Villars was deeply interested in saving this province and bringing back these exasperated men, and soon re-established peace in the region. But a hundred thousand people had perished in this terrible war, and meantime Marsin was losing Germany.

Battle of Höchstädt or Blenheim; Loss of Germany (1704).—Marlbrough and Prince Eugene had conceived a bold and clever plan to save Austria, which had become exposed to attack by the taking of Passau in January, 1704. They united their forces in Bavaria. Tallard and Marsin had rejoined the elector. They met the enemy near Höchstädt. Their positions were badly chosen; Marlborough easily broke their lines and took prisoner Tallard and an entire corps which had not been in the fight. In less than a month Bavaria was subjugated; the elector fled to Brussels, and the Imperialists reappeared on the Rhine. It was necessary to recall Villars in order to save Alsace.

Battles of Ramillies and Turin (1706); Loss of Italy and the Netherlands.—The Empire was saved. Eugene and Marlborough separated; one went to Italy, the other to the Netherlands. The plans of the European coalition were ably developed under the direction of these two great generals. They intended to conquer all the outside provinces of the Spanish monarchy before attacking France herself.

Marlbrough found conquest easy. He again had as his opponent the incompetent Villeroi. He penetrated to the very heart of Brabant, and found Villeroi at Ramillies. Villeroi chose the most unfortunate positions. Marlborough quickly recognized his mistakes, and inflicted on him an overwhelming defeat (May, 1706). When Villeroi reappeared at court, the king contented himself with saying to him, "Monsieur le maréchal, at our age one is no longer fortunate." The loss of the greater part of Brabant was

the result of this defeat, which cost France five thousand killed and wounded and fifteen thousand prisoners. Marlborough entered Antwerp, Brussels, and Ostend; and Louis XIV. was obliged, in order to arrest his progress, to recall the Duke of Vendôme from Italy, where he was covering the siege of Turin.

While Vendôme was hastening to Flanders, Eugene conceived the bold project of going to assist Turin by ascending to the right bank of the Po. He had to cross fifteen rivers, to fight or avoid the army of observation, to conquer the besieging army, and all this with weary troops inferior in numbers. But the incapable Marsin, who had been placed in command of the army of Italy, failed to stop him. The French lines before Turin, being spread out too extensively, were broken through (September, 1706), the marshal mortally wounded, Piedmont delivered, the Milanese lost, and, as a result, in the following year, the kingdom of Naples. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, astonished at the consequences of a victory which brought them to the confines of France, could not resist the temptation to enter. They invaded Provence, and besieged Toulon, sustained by an English fleet. The city was bravely defended. Eugene lost ten thousand men in the attack and retreat (1707). Attacks upon this frontier have always been, and must continue to be, on account of the nature of the country, fatal to those who make them.

Reverses in Spain (1704-1708).—In 1703 the English had brought Portugal into the coalition. In 1704 they surprised and took the impregnable fortress of Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean. The Archduke Charles, the competitor of Philip V., had, in the mean time, landed in Catalonia with nine thousand soldiers. In 1705 he took Barcelona. Aragon and the neighboring provinces submitted to him. The following year he entered Madrid. The English took Cartagena, the Portuguese Ciudad-Rodrigo; and an Anglo-Portuguese army occupied Estremadura. It was immediately proposed in the councils of Louis XIV. to renounce Spain, and send Philip V. to reign in America.

Success of Villars on the Rhine (1705-1707).—Meanwhile Villars had kept his word. In 1705 he had arrested the progress of Marlborough, and covered Lorraine. In the following year and in 1707 he gained other successes in South Germany. Thus the coalition, though victorious at



R. P. Grave par L. Desrochers et se vend chez luy à Paris rue S. Jacques au Mécénat

Ou Jadis Annibal à battu les Romains,
 Vendôme, plus Vaillant que ce Prince et plus Sages,
 Bientôt ne va laisser au parti des Germains
 Qu'une fuite, honteuse ou la mort pour partage.

DUKE OF VENDÔME.
 From a print in the National Library.



the two extremities of the immense line of operations in Spain, in Italy, and in the Netherlands, was beaten in the centre, on the Rhine. At the same time Charles XII. of Sweden appeared in Saxony at the head of an army until then invincible. Villars proposed to march across the Empire to join him, and Louis XIV. begged him to attack the coalition in the rear. But instead he burst upon Russia, and was ruined there.

Defeat of Oudenarde (1708); France itself entered.— Prince Eugene rejoined Marlborough in Flanders. The allies had eighty thousand men; France, whom Europe believed to be exhausted, furnished a hundred thousand. Louis XIV. entrusted them to his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, under whom Vendôme served as lieutenant. The division of the command led to a fresh disaster: the army was put to rout at Oudenarde (July, 1708). This was but an extensive picket fight; and when evening came, nothing had been lost. Vendôme proposed to begin the fight again the next day, but the Duke of Burgundy and his counsellors refused. The retreat was disastrous; the enemy killed or captured more than ten thousand men. Ghent, Bruges, and even Lille, capitulated; and France lay exposed to the allies. A party of Dutch went as far as the neighborhood of Versailles.

France and Spain begin to recover; Battles of Malplaquet (1709) and Villaviciosa (1710).— The winter of 1709 added to the misfortunes of the French. The cold was intense, and famine resulted. Louis XIV. humbled himself and asked for peace. But the triumvirs did not consider him sufficiently humiliated. They required that he should restore Strassburg and renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, and should himself drive his grandson out of Spain. "Since I must make war," he replied, "I prefer to fight my enemies rather than my children," and he wrote a letter to the governors, bishops, and communes, calling upon them to be judges between him and his enemies.

This noble appeal to patriotism moved all France; again an army was raised, as large as that of the coalition. Villars was put in command of it. It was clearly shown at the battle of Malplaquet, near Mons (September, 1709), that the struggle had become a national one. The allies had almost one hundred and twenty thousand men; the marshal, ninety thousand. When the action began, the soldiers, who had

had nothing to eat for a whole day, had just received their rations; they threw them away in order to run more lightly to the fight. They were forced to retreat; but the French had only eight thousand men disabled, and the allies twenty-one thousand.

This glorious defeat announced the end of the French reverses. Louis XIV. sent into Spain the Duke of Vendôme, who had been in disfavor since Oudenarde. His name alone was worth a whole army. The Spanish nation, like the French, awoke at the voice of Louis XIV. The people of the country districts began that guerilla warfare which, in the mountainous surface of Spain, has always been fatal to foreigners; finally, the archduke's general, Count Stahremberg, was completely overthrown at Villaviciosa (December, 1710). This victory saved the crown of Philip V.

Withdrawal of England (1711); Battle of Denain (1712).— This unexpected energy on the part of two nations, who were thought to be ready to give up, astonished the allies; they were growing weary too, especially England, whose subsidies fed the coalition, and who had increased her public debt by £60,000,000. A court intrigue precipitated the change which public opinion, paramount in a free country, was already preparing, and which the queen herself desired. The Duchess of Marlborough, falling into disgrace with Queen Anne, brought down with her her husband's friends and, after a while, the duke himself. Bolingbroke and Oxford formed a new ministry, and the majority which they obtained in a newly elected House of Commons proved that the nation itself accepted the change which was about to take place in the foreign policy of England.

Marlborough and his friends the Whigs owed their influence to the war; the Tories, the new advisers of the crown, sought to found their credit on the making of peace. Secret negotiations were entered into; an unforeseen event soon made public negotiations possible. The emperor Joseph I., who had succeeded Leopold in 1705, died in 1711, leaving no heir but his brother, the Archduke Charles. England, who had fought to separate Spain and France, had no desire to continue the war for the purpose of uniting Spain to Austria. The preliminaries of peace were signed at London in October, 1711. The allies followed the example; a congress assembled at Utrecht in January, 1712. The em-

peror and the empire refused to take part in it; but the combat had now become wholly unequal, and a single campaign sufficed to prove it. Prince Eugene was besieging Landrecies. He rightly called his lines "the road to Paris"; for if Landrecies should fall, there was no fortress between Paris and his army. But the lines of the Imperialists were too extensive. Villars, making a feint on Landrecies, marched in all haste upon Denain. The camp was taken and seventeen battalions destroyed (July, 1712). Eugene hastened to re-enforce, but was repulsed; Landrecies was delivered, and the frontiers of France were placed in security.

Maritime Expeditions; Duguay-Trouin. — The necessity for keeping all the French forces on land in order to resist the armies of the continent had caused the navy to be neglected. England profited by this, and easily gained the empire of the seas, which France abandoned and which the Dutch could no longer retain. Henceforward there were only some encounters of squadrons, and soon the fighting was reduced to privateering. The French colonies, left without defence, were either devastated or conquered.

Nevertheless, some of the French privateers and captains won for themselves great reputations. Duguay-Trouin, the son of a shipowner of St. Malo, gained great celebrity as a privateer; he was made captain in the royal navy in 1706, and commanded an expedition against Rio Janeiro in which the vigor of the execution corresponded with the boldness of the plan (1711). This place, which seemed impregnable, was carried after eleven days' siege. Many vessels and an immense quantity of merchandise were either taken or burned. Unhappily the exploits of these brave sailors had no influence upon the war.

Treaties of Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden (1713-1714). — The victory of Denain hastened the conclusion of peace. There were three treaties: that of Utrecht (April 11, 1713), between France, Spain, England, the Netherlands, Savoy, and Portugal; that of Rastadt (March 7, 1714), between France and the emperor; that of Baden (June 7, 1714), between France and the Empire. The treaty of Rastadt was retarded a year by the obstinacy of Charles VI., until the successes gained by Villars on the Rhine forced him to yield.

By these treaties, Louis XIV. retained the earliest acqui-

sitions of his reign : Alsace, Artois, and Roussillon, which France owed to Richelieu and Mazarin ; Flanders, Franche-Comté, Strassburg, Saarlouis, Landau, and of the colonies, the Antilles, Cayenne, Bourbon, and Senegal ; he acquired the valley of Barcelonette, but ceded to the Duke of Savoy Exilles, Fenestrelle, and Château-Dauphin ; to England, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Acadia ; he caused the port of Dunkirk to be dismantled and filled up ; he recognized the Protestant Elector of Brunswick, George I., as heir presumptive of Queen Anne, agreed to send the Pretender, James III., out of France, to release from prison all of his subjects who were confined for religious reasons, and not to receive from Spain any exclusive commercial privilege, while he granted to England important commercial advantages, and ceded to her the monopoly of the slave trade from the coast of Africa to the Spanish colonies.

Philip V. retained Spain and her immense colonial possessions, but he renounced for himself and his children all pretensions to the throne of France ; he ceded to the English Gibraltar and Minorca ; Sicily to the Duke of Savoy, and to the emperor the Southern Netherlands, the Milanese, the kingdom of Naples, and Sardinia. The Duke of Bavaria, the unfortunate ally of Louis XIV., was re-established in his states. The title of King was bestowed upon the head of the house of Savoy. Finally, the Dutch obtained the right to garrison all the most important places in the Austrian Netherlands, in order to use them as a barrier against France.

These conditions were honorable, if compared to the humiliating propositions of the triumvirs. France was saved by her perseverance, her united strength, and the energy of her king ; she came forth from this terrible trial weakened, but not humiliated, and with the honors of war. Two powers had gained especially by this war : Austria had won magnificent domains in Italy and the Netherlands ; England had seized upon the empire of the seas. Besides, the one had recovered Hungary, which was more necessary to her than Italy ; the other remained at Port Mahon, whence she could hold Toulon in check, and at Gibraltar, whence she threatened Spain and guarded the entrance to the Mediterranean. But France gained the alliance of Spain.

Numerous Deaths in the Royal Family (1712-1714).—The last years of the reign of Louis XIV. were as dark as the first had been brilliant. In addition to the national

misfortunes, the king had to bear terrible domestic afflictions: he lost his only son, the dauphin (April, 1711); the Duke of Burgundy and his wife (February, 1712); their oldest son, the Duke of Brittany (March); the Duke of Berry, son of the dauphin, in 1714. Thus Louis XIV. had left only his grandson, Philip V., king of Spain, and his great-grandson, the Duke of Anjou, then only five years old, who was afterwards Louis XV.

So many deaths happening in quick succession determined the king to take an extraordinary measure: his legitimated sons, the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, children of the Marchioness of Montespan, were declared heirs of the crown in default of princes of the blood. He appointed them, in his will, members of a council of regency, composed principally of their friends, and of which the Duke of Orleans, his nephew, was to be merely the president; the Duke of Maine obtained, besides, the guardianship of the young king. This will was an unfortunate act. It fixed a slight on the Duke of Orleans, and organized war in the heart of the government itself.

Death of the King (1715).—Louis XIV. died on September 1st, 1715, at the age of seventy-seven years, after having reigned seventy-two. He left France excessively exhausted. The State was ruined, and seemed to have no resource but bankruptcy. This trouble seemed especially imminent in 1715, after the war, during which the government had been obliged to borrow at four hundred per cent, to create new taxes, to spend in advance the revenue of two years, and to increase the public debt to 2400 millions.

The acquisition of two provinces (Flanders, Franche-Comté) and a few cities (Strassburg, Landau, and Dunkirk) was no compensation for such terrible poverty. Succeeding generations have remembered only the numerous victories, Europe defied, France for twenty years preponderant, and the incomparable splendor of the court of Versailles, with its marvels of letters and arts, which have given to the seventeenth century the name of the age of Louis XIV. It is for history to show the price which France has paid for her king's vain attempts abroad to rule over Europe, and at home to enslave the wills and consciences of men.

CHAPTER LIII.

GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS XIV.

Consolidation of the Absolute Monarchy. — If the administration of the kingdom was the work of the ministers of Louis XIV., as well as his own, one thing certainly belonged to him alone; namely, the general supervision which he gave to the government and to society, the energetic and skilful manner in which he dominated all powers, annulled them, or made them subservient to his grandeur. We have already seen his ideas as to the rights of sovereigns; he had summarized them in the speech which he is said to have made, young as he was, at the termination of the Fronde: "I am the State." He believed it, all the world believed it also, and the Church taught it; Bossuet founded the divine right of monarchy upon maxims drawn from the Holy Scriptures. While Louis XIV. lived, there was, in France, but one will without limitation or control, and that was his own.

Suppression of States-General; Provincial States and Elective Mayoralties. — The States-General would have recalled the memory of other rights; he never convened them; he punished those who spoke of them. The greater part of the provinces had States of their own; he suppressed many of them. Those which were retained were assembled only to execute the orders of the ministers. What remained of municipal liberties disappeared, as provincial liberties had done. An edict of 1683 placed the financial management of the cities in the hands of the intendants. Municipal life was then suspended, as had long been the case with political life; an unfortunate condition of things, for practical education in public affairs was unknown in France, and when the day should come that she should be obliged to take the government from the failing hands of absolute royalty, she would find bold and powerful logicians to guide her, but no practical men of experience, who would understand how, by wise measures, to join the future to the past.

Political liberty, to be lasting, must be built upon the strong basis of local liberties. It is thus that it has grown up in England, and thus it is maintained.

Submission of Parliament. — In the sixteenth century the parliaments were called “the strong and powerful columns upon which monarchy rested.” But in the seventeenth the new royalty desired no support but its own absolute right. But, thanks to the venality of offices, to the dignity of the lives of the magistrates, to the part they had sometimes played in politics, to their *esprit de corps*, there arose alongside of the feudal noblesse a *noblesse de robe* which was not always easily handled. Without openly breaking with the royal power, they resisted it by the aid of long proceedings and venerable forms. They turned aside attacks by that force of inertia which belongs to an assembly of old men, and which was hard to break down at a period when tradition made right. The spirit of opposition, driven out everywhere else, took refuge among them; faint political opposition in the Parliament of Paris, provincial opposition in the others, and in all religious opposition under the form of Jansenism. Louis XIV. saw this clearly, and diligently strove to transform the parliaments into simple courts of appeal, and make them subject to his Council of State. By an edict of 1667 he ordered the Parliament of Paris to register his ordinances within a week, and would allow no remonstrances. He caused the records of all deliberations which dated from the civil war to be torn from their register, so as to efface even the remembrance of their ancient pretensions. He changed their title of sovereign court to that of superior court.

Submission of the Nobility. — It seemed more difficult to reduce the nobles. Richelieu had demolished their fortresses and struck off the heads of the most troublesome among them; Mazarin had bought them or conquered them by intrigue. Louis XIV. made himself master of them by attracting them to him by festivals, and by drawing them away from their own estates, where they thought too much of their ancestors and felt themselves still free, filling his antechambers and private offices with the descendants of those who had made his forefathers tremble, and thus gathering about royalty that brilliant cortège by which the representative of God on earth wished to be always surrounded. The governors of provinces, despoiled of all

authority for the benefit of the intendants, "could no longer play the king." They had no longer the handling of the public moneys, not even the command of the troops, and they were appointed for only three years. Those of the nobles who persisted in remaining in their own domains were closely watched, and kept from every exercise of oppressiveness or violence. But to the nobles who lived at his court, even to those for whom he had little esteem, he always exhibited tokens of outward respect, in order that he, the chief among them, might appear greater in the eyes of the crowd.

But though they received titles and honors, they were allowed no political influence in the State. Louis XIV. employed the princes of the blood, even his own brother, as little as possible, fearing they might find opportunities to distinguish themselves. His brother might have been a prince equal to many others; his nephew possessed the qualities which make a superior man; and the Prince of Conti was certainly very brave and very capable. They were all obliged to extinguish, in idleness or debaucheries, talents which might have been made profitable to the country. After the death of Mazarin he admitted to his councils only one man of the old nobility, the Duke of Beauvilliers, governor of the children of the royal house, and chose all his ministers from among men of station by no means exalted. He reserved for the nobles only the more restricted field of the military profession, having first taken care to discipline them by the stern hand of Louvois and the inflexible *order of promotion*, and to deprive them of or abolish the high offices that Richelieu had allowed to remain: those of colonel-general of the infantry, colonel-general of the cavalry, admiral of France, and captain-general of the galleys. The nobility of France had not succeeded in making itself a political class, like that of England; it was only a military caste.

The Third Estate. — Louis XIV., following out the old traditions of the monarchy, preferred to make use of the middle classes, who were better instructed and at the same time more devoted, because they had not yet perceived the inconveniences of absolute power, while they had felt for centuries those of feudal rule. Louis XIV. delivered into their hands all financial, political, and judicial functions; he quietly established them in the administration of the

kingdom; he energetically advanced them in industry and commerce and favored them (*e.g.*, Boileau, Racine, Molière) in literature. Louis XIV. thus unconsciously prepared the way for democratic France and the Revolution. But he was nowise a bourgeois king. His policy, his intense self-esteem, the vigorous ceremonial which made of him a dreaded and inaccessible divinity, his carousals, his splendid feasts, all banish from the mind any suggestion of constitutional monarchy.

The Clergy ; Declaration of 1682. — Louis maintained the same policy towards the clergy as towards the nobility; while he conferred honors upon them, he was careful not to give them any power. The great nobles were withdrawn from the Church as well as from the administration. The clergy were consequently, under Louis XIV., another prop of royalty. In the affair of the *régale* the bishops sustained the king even against the Pope. The name *régale* was given to the right of kings to collect the revenues of certain benefices, bishoprics, and archbishoprics during periods of vacancy. In 1673 an edict declared all the sees of France subject to the *régale*. Two bishops refused to obey and were supported by the Pope. Louis XIV., in order to put an end to the controversy, called an assembly of the French clergy, who adopted, in 1682, under the inspiration of Bossuet, four propositions, in substance as follows: —

1. God has not given to Saint Peter and his successors any power, either direct or indirect, over temporal matters.
2. The Gallican Church approves the decrees adopted by the council of Constance, which declare ecumenical councils superior to the Pope in spiritual affairs.
3. The rules and usages received in the kingdom and in the Gallican Church shall remain unchangeable.
4. Decisions of the Pope in matters of doctrine are not absolute until accepted by the Church.

Innocent XI. refused to grant bulls of investiture to the bishops appointed by the government who had been members of the assembly. The affair was settled in 1693 by a compromise. Innocent XII. granted the bulls of investiture, and the king ceased to impose upon faculties of theology the obligation to teach the four propositions of 1682.

Protestants, Jansenists, Quietists. — These discussions with the court of Rome were of no profit to dissenters. At the height of the quarrel the king revoked the edict of Nantes.

Nor did he temporize with the Jansenists. These latter derived their doctrines from a bishop of Ypres, named Jansenius, who died in 1638, and from the Abbé de Saint-Cyran; they held some old opinions, which seemed new, on the subjects of grace and predestination. The most illustrious among them, Arnauld and others, retired to Port-Royal des Champs, near Versailles, where Pascal joined them, and there, living as hermits, these Puritans of Catholicism gave to the world an example of industrious labor of hands and brain, of the most earnest piety, and of austerity of life which amounted almost to asceticism. They wrote excellent books, and were distinguished scholars; almost the entire magistracy adopted their doctrines in part, and, without any one's being able to assign any reason for it, the spirit of political opposition concealed itself behind this religious opposition.

Louis XIV. referred their opinions to the court of Rome; and as the sect would not submit to the decisions of the spiritual authority, he used against them temporal force with a severity which was considered excessive even at that day. He caused Port-Royal des Champs to be destroyed in 1709. The bodies of the inoffensive recluses were disinterred. A book of Père Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory, reanimated the disturbances. One hundred and one of its propositions were condemned at Rome by the bull *Unigenitus*, to which the king in 1712 imposed obedience upon all the clergy of France. The Jansenists were punished with disgrace, imprisonment, or exile. Quietism had the same fate. This was an old doctrine, brought up and disseminated by a woman, Madam Guyon. Fénelon, archbishop of Cambrai, the former preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy, having defended this opinion in a book, Bossuet denounced the work (1699), and the Pope condemned it. Fénelon submitted with the most Christian self-abnegation.

Creation of the Police ; Large Standing Army. — Two institutions aided the king to accomplish the work of monarchical omnipotence, — the police and the army. The first was of his own creation. He was the first to appoint lieutenants of police for Paris. Then began the system of public lighting; from the first of November to the first of March, a lantern in which was a burning candle was placed at the ends and in the middle of each street. The watch was increased, or rather instituted. Bodies of firemen replaced

the Capuchins in the fire service (1699). The narrow streets were cleaned, widened, and paved, public carriages and cabs were established; the habit of riding on horseback was still indulged in Paris by none but a few stubborn representatives of the past centuries.

The police served another purpose: it inspected written matter; it stopped at the post-office, and read, suspected correspondence; and, to relieve the government of slow forms of justice, it multiplied the *lettres de cachets*, which deprived subjects of all guarantee of individual liberty. The army also served a double end: it faced the enemy abroad, and at home it crushed all resistance to the will of the sovereign. From this reign date the great standing armies, schools of discipline, of loyalty, and of honor, but also a heavy burden upon the finances of the country. The troops were sent into the provinces to protect the progressive extension of the authority of the intendants; they hastened by fear the collection of taxes; they were even charged with the extraordinary duty of leading back the consciences of dissenters to the unity of the faith.

The Court. — Thus all orders of the State, all authorities which existed in France, all classes, parliaments, nobility, middle classes, clergy, and dissenters were reduced and dominated. Under the pressure of authority, characters degenerated. Only a few — Vauban, Catinat, Fénelon, Turenne — resisted the contagion. The general enslavement showed nowhere more plainly than at the court, where Louis imposed on the high nobility a gilded captivity. Versailles was built with this in view, and all France was collected there, under the eye and hand of the king. The favor of the king depended upon three conditions, — to ask and obtain a lodging at Versailles, to follow the court everywhere, even though ill, even though dying, and to approve of everything. Henceforth no more seigniorial independence, no more family life, no more connection or communion with the country districts; but an artificial existence, in which certain qualities of mind were developed, but true dignity and all the virtues that belong to it were lost.

At these splendid fêtes of Versailles one sees, indeed, among all the marvels of the arts, a society incomparable for wit, elegance, and fine manners; but one sees also the too numerous errors of the prince himself but lightly veiled. The most eminent persons of the State, grave magistrates,

illustrious prelates, dared not make the slightest protest against the scandal of intrigues doubly adulterous. The Duchess de la Vallière has secured pardon by her deep repentance. The haughty Montespan reigned longer over the court, but she was in turn supplanted by the Marchioness of Maintenon, to whom she had confided the education of her children, and the widow of the cripple Scarron became the wife of Louis the Great (1685).

The trouble was not confined to the royal house; it threatened to extend to the State itself; for Louis, violating all civil and religious laws, placed the legitimated princes beside the princes of the blood. He forced the court to show as much respect to them as to the others; and public morality received a blow from which it has been slow to recover. The dukes of Orleans and Vendôme, given over to wholesale debauchery, the Duke of Antin, caught in the very act of theft, noblemen who knew how to repair at cards the losses of fortune, a court which according to Saint-Simon "sweated hypocrisy," a king who became a devotee when he could no longer be anything else, — all this shows that morals, conscience, and human dignity are never violated with impunity.

Memorials from the Intendants. — We have an indisputable body of evidence respecting the misery of the period, — the reports which the king required of the intendants, regarding the condition of their provinces, for the instruction of the Duke of Burgundy, his grandson. Upon each page occur these despairing words, "War, mortality, the continual quartering and movement of soldiery, service, heavy duties, the emigration of the Huguenots, have ruined this province." The bridges and roads are in a deplorable condition, and trade reduced to nothing. The frontier provinces are, still further, overwhelmed by requisitions, and by the marauding of the soldiery, who, receiving neither pay nor rations, undertook to find their own wages. In the district of Rouen 650,000 of the 700,000 inhabitants have only piles of straw for beds. The peasants in certain provinces have lapsed into a savage state, living frequently on herbs and roots like the beasts, and, wild as savages, flee when approached.

Signs of a New Spirit. — Meanwhile, however, a few men, not perhaps of singularly great minds, but who at any rate had honest hearts and elevated characters, — Fénelon, the

Duke of Beauvilliers, Saint-Simon, and Catinat, — saw the clouds appearing on the horizon, and some of them ventured to offer respectful counsel. Vauban, who grieved over all the troubles of the country, made plans to alleviate them; he asked for the re-establishment of the edict of Nantes, and the restoration of religious toleration; he proposed to substitute for all other forms of taxation a single tax, the *royal tithe*, which should be paid by nobles and priests as well as common people. When he presented his book to the king in 1707, Louis, forgetting the great services of the marshal, had the work condemned to the pillory. Six weeks after, Vauban died. Colbert had already died of despair; and it was less on account of his religious opinions than his political ideas, that Fénelon was sent into the exile from which he never returned. In that ancient Greece that he loved so well Fénelon rediscovered the idea which he transmitted to the eighteenth century, — that governments are made for the governed. In 1690 there was printed in Holland a collection of fifteen memoirs under the title of “The Groans of Enslaved France,” in which were claimed, as among the ancient liberties of the country, the privileges of the three orders, and the convocation of the States-General. These were signs announcing the new spirit which was to agitate French society in the eighteenth century after its experience of the short-lived benefits and dangers attending absolute royalty, of which Louis XIV. had just given the most striking example.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

Literary Character of the Seventeenth Century in France.

—The sixteenth century had seen religious reformation; the eighteenth century was to see political reformation. Placed between the two revolutionary ages, the seventeenth century maintained so perfect an equilibrium between the powers of the mind, a capacity for writing so completely equal to the capacity for thinking, that it has remained in an especial degree the literary age of France.

The Age of Louis XIV. before Louis XIV. — At the time when Louis XIV. took the government into his own hands, France had already acquired a portion of the literary glory that the seventeenth century had in reserve for her. Corneille, Descartes, and Pascal had written their masterpieces; Madame de Sévigné, La Rochefoucauld, Molière, La Fontaine, Bossuet, were at the height of their powers; the two great painters of the age, Lesueur and Poussin, were dying or about to die. French society had then, in 1661, all the necessary capacities. One thing only was wanting, — perfection of taste; but the *Lettres provinciales* (1657) struck the first blow, the *Précieuses ridicules* (1659) the second, and the third was to be struck by Boileau, who had just written his first satire.

All that genius asks of power is, not to oppose it. But governments can also sustain it and stimulate it by favors, or, better still, by consideration, and Louis XIV. perceived this and did it admirably. The grateful muses bestowed on him more than they received; they consecrated his name. We ourselves will preserve the consecrated phrase of the “age of Louis XIV.” in order to designate that period of our literature which extends from the early writings of Corneille to those of Voltaire, because the king had a taste for arts and letters, and bestowed favors which, while they did not create great writers, surely paved the way for their supremacy.

Academies and Pensions. — Louis XIV. not only considered literature a power, but regarded it as a necessary ornament, as a luxury worthy of a great king. Consequently he favored letters, and gave literature an organized government, of which Colbert was the minister. The members of the academies had, in a sense, public duties, and pensions and rewards for attendance were their salary. The French Academy continued to prepare the dictionary of the language, and the Academy of Inscriptions wrote devices for medals and escutcheons and inscriptions for monuments, whose decorations were designed by the Academy of Painting and Sculpture.

The academies formed corporations of literature, sciences, and arts. Their most distinguished members had, besides, official duties and a rank at court. Jules Mansard was the king's chief architect and superintendent of buildings; Lebrun was his chief painter; Lulli, his chief musician. Louis XIV. did not grant poetry a court office; but he bestowed one upon history, as if to secure in advance the favorable judgment of posterity. Racine and Boileau were his historiographers. Even his valet Molière had, as assailant of the nobility, his part in the great drama which went on so gravely around the king at Versailles.

Prose Writers. — "In eloquence," says Voltaire, "in poetry, in literature, in books both of morals and of amusement, the French were the lawgivers of Europe." A genuine eloquence in the use of the French language had hitherto been but seldom attained. Jean de Lingendes, bishop of Mâcon, was the first orator who spoke in the grand style. Balzac (1594-1654), at this time was giving rhythm and harmony to prose, and Voiture (1598-1648) was giving some idea of the light graces of epistolary style.

"One of the works which contributed most towards forming the taste of the nation," says Voltaire (*Siècle de Louis XIV.*), "was the small collection of the Maxims of Francis, Duke of La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680). Although there was scarcely more than one thought in this book, which was that self-love is the motive in everything, nevertheless this thought was presented in so many different aspects, that it was almost always attractive. The little collection was read with avidity; it accustomed men to think and to give their thoughts a lively, concise, and delicate style.

"But the first book of genius which appeared in prose,

was the collection of the *Lettres provinciales* in 1657.¹ All the varieties of eloquence are exhibited in it. There is not a single word which in the space of a hundred years has undergone the change which so often takes place in living tongues. This book marks the period of permanent establishment in the language. . . .

"One of the first who sent forth from the pulpit truly eloquent reasoning was Bourdaloue (1632-1704), about the year 1668. He was a new luminary. After him came other pulpit orators, Massillon, bishop of Clermont (1662-1742), for example, whose discourses contain more ornament, finer and more impressive representations of the manners of the age; but not one of them has caused him to be forgotten. In his style, nervous rather than ornate, devoid of imaginative expressions, he appears to wish rather to convince than to touch, and he never seems to think of pleasing.

"He had been preceded by Bossuet (1627-1704), afterwards bishop of Meaux. Bossuet, who became so distinguished a man, had preached when very young before the king and queen in 1661, long before Bourdaloue was known. His sermons, sustained by a noble and affecting manner, were the first that had been heard at court which approached the sublime, and had such success that the king caused a letter to be written in his name to Bossuet's father to congratulate him upon having such a son. But when Bourdaloue appeared, Bossuet no longer passed for the leading preacher. He had already given himself to the composition of funeral orations, a species of eloquence which requires imagination and a majestic grandeur approaching poetry. . . . The funeral eulogy of Madame, who had been taken away in the flower of her age, and had died in his arms, achieved the most signal and most unusual of successes, that of drawing tears from the eyes of the courtiers. . . .

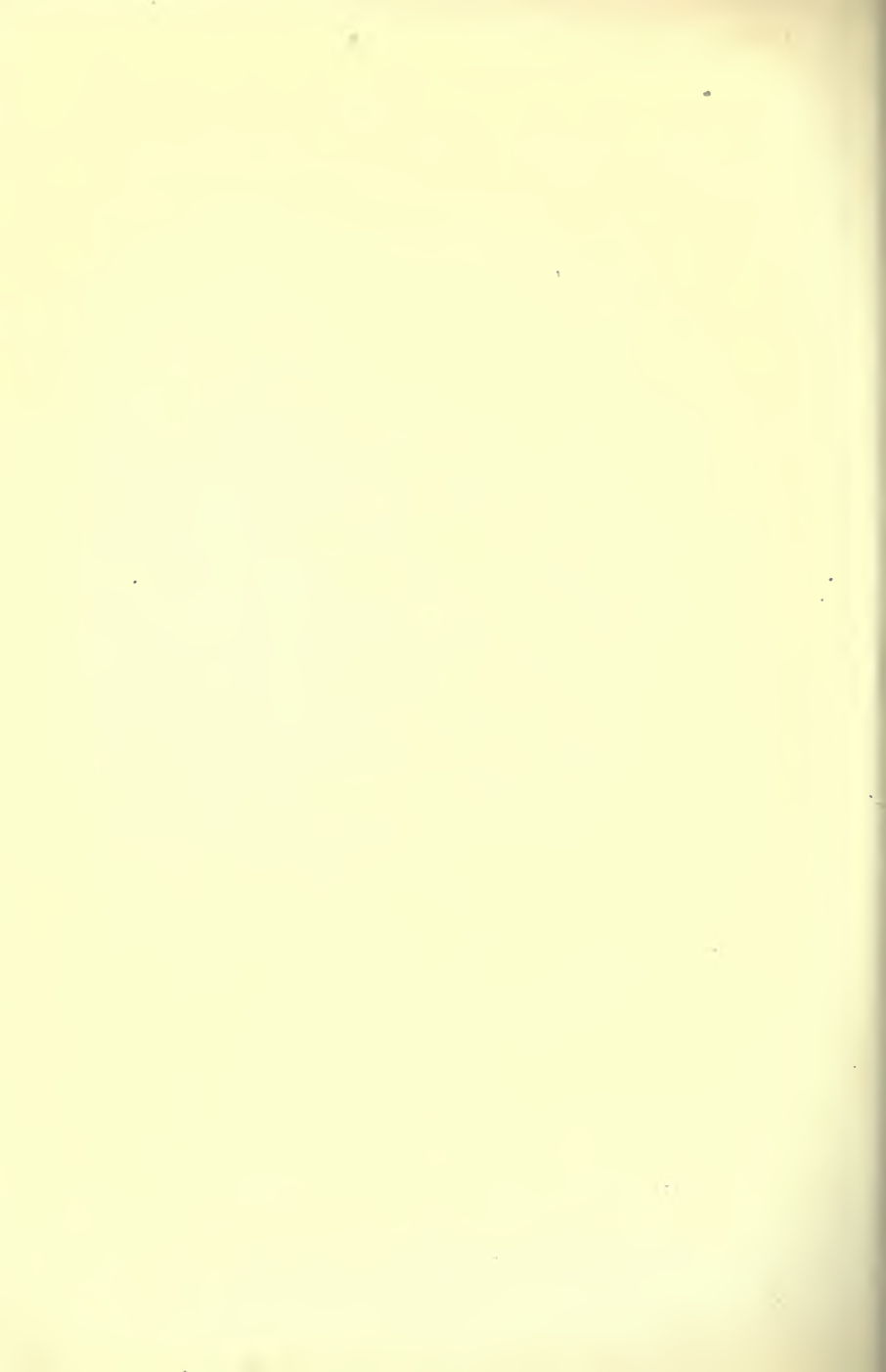
"The French were the only people who succeeded in this department of eloquence. Later, Bossuet invented another, which would have little success save in his own hands. He applied the art of oratory to history itself, from which it seems naturally excluded.

"His Discourse upon Universal History, composed for the education of the dauphin, had no model and has had no imitators. One is astonished at the majestic strength with

¹ Voltaire forgets Descartes' *Discourse concerning Method* (1637).



MOLIÈRE. (Mignard.)



which he describes manners, governments, the growth and downfall of great empires, and at those rapid and yet vigorously true strokes with which he painted and pronounced judgment upon all nations. . . .

"Almost all the works which distinguished this century were in a style unknown to antiquity. *Télémaque* is one of them. Fénelon (1651-1715), the disciple and friend of Bossuet, and who afterwards became, in spite of himself, his rival and his enemy, composed this singular book, which is at once a romance and a poem, and which substitutes rhythmic prose for versification. He seems to have desired to treat romance as Bossuet had treated history, by giving it a dignity and charm till then unknown, and especially by drawing from his fictions morals useful to mankind. He had composed this book to be used for the instruction of the Duke of Burgundy, whose tutor he was. Full of the literature of the ancients, and born with a vivid and delicate imagination, he created a style which was all his own, and which flowed from a never-failing source. . . .

"Among productions of a unique kind may be mentioned the *Caractères* of La Bruyère (1644-1696). This style of writing was as rare among the ancients as that of *Télémaque*. A rapid, concise, nervous style, picturesque expressions, a way of using words which was entirely original, but disregarded no rules, attracted attention, and the allusions which were constantly to be found in the book completed its success."

Voltaire says only a word or two of Madame de Sévigné (1636-1696). She deserves more; for in her conversations with her daughter she transports Versailles and Paris to Grignan, and teaches us more of the real history of the times than can be learned from many large volumes. So long as wit of excellent quality and a frank, clear style are enjoyed, the world will never weary of reading her fine and often eloquent letters, in which are seen reflected the splendors and miseries of a unique society.

France is of all countries the richest in memoirs. This curious branch of historical literature began there at an early period, with Villehardouin and Joinville. The seventeenth century abounds in memoirs, generally by acute and discriminating writers, who reveal to us the secret causes of many events and movements. Those of Richelieu are a precious mine for the political history of the time; those of

Madame de Motteville (1621–1689), the confidante of Anne of Austria, introduce us to the private life of that princess. Paul de Gondi, cardinal de Retz (1614–1679), has left a book which is one of the monuments of the French language, and which will always be read with pleasure, even though one cannot always believe the author. In this kind of literature the great nobles willingly engaged. We have the Duke of La Rochefoucauld's memoirs bearing on the regency of Anne of Austria, and, for the last part of the reign of Louis XIV. and the beginning of that of Louis XV., the twenty volumes of the duke and peer, Rouvroy de Saint-Simon, a writer of the greatest talent.

Poets. — Rénier and Malherbe belong to the preceding century, though one died in 1613, and the other in 1628. With Corneille (1606–1684) masterpieces at last appear, and in quick succession are put upon the stage, which he has elevated to the level of the Greek theatre. "Pierre Corneille," says Voltaire, "is so much the more admirable because he was surrounded only by bad models when he first began to produce tragedies. Moreover, these bad models were held in good estimation, and, worst of all, encouraged by Richelieu, the patron of men of letters, but not of good taste. Corneille consequently was obliged to combat his age, his rivals, and the cardinal, who decried the *Cid* and disapproved of *Polyeucte*. Corneille formed his style unassisted; but Louis XIV., Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides contributed to the formation of Racine (1639–1699). An ode which he composed at the age of twenty years, on the occasion of the king's marriage, procured him an unexpected donation from the king, and determined him to adopt poetry as a career. His reputation increased from day to day, and that of the works of Corneille somewhat diminished. The reason is that Racine, in all his works after his *Alexandre*, is always elegant, always correct, and Corneille too frequently fails in these respects. . . .

"It was a singular destiny that made Molière (1622–1673) the contemporary of Corneille and Racine. It is not true that Molière, when he appeared, found the theatre absolutely deficient in good comedies. Corneille himself had given *Le Menteur*, and Molière had still only produced two of his masterpieces, when *La Mère coquette* of Quinault, a play of both character and intrigue, was already before the public. It was published in 1664, and was the first comedy

in which were presented those characters which have since been called the *marquises*. Most of the great nobles of the court of Louis XIV. tried to imitate that air of grandeur, distinction, and dignity which characterized their master. Those of inferior rank copied the haughty bearing of their superiors; and of course there were those, and a great number of them, who carried this haughty manner and this intensity of self-assertion to a ridiculous extent. This affectation lasted a long time. Molière attacked it frequently; he helped to laugh down these aspiring subalterns, the affectation of the *précieuses*, the pedantry of learned women, the quackery of doctors. Molière was, so to speak, a lawgiver of social good sense. I refer here only to this service rendered to his own age; his other merits are sufficiently well known. . . .

"This was a period worthy the attention of posterity, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the personages of Molière, the symphonies of Lulli, all new to the nation, and the voices of Bossuet and of Bourdaloue, were heard by Louis XIV. and Madame, so noted for her good taste, a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and by that throng of superior men of all sorts who flourished at that time. The day will never return when a La Rochefoucauld will pass from a conversation with a Pascal and an Arnauld to attend a play of Corneille. And La Fontaine (1621-1695), much less chaste in style, much less correct in language, but original in his artlessness and in the grace peculiar to him, rises by the very force of his simplicity almost to a level with these great men."

Philosophy. — Philosophy had just been transformed by Descartes (1596-1650), less by what he built up than by what he destroyed. His system has fallen; his method still exists. Since Socrates there has not been so important a philosophical reform. Descartes accepted as true, in the department of moral and physical sciences, only what seemed evident to the reason, and this evidence he placed, so far as concerns philosophical matters, in the irresistible authority of the manifestations of consciousness. Thus in his *Discourse concerning Method* (1637), and in his *Meditations* (1641), he tried to prove, simply by processes of reasoning, the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, the liberty and consequently the responsibility of the human will. His principles were adopted by

the most religious minds of the seventeenth century; they inspired Malebranche (1638–1715), who has been called the Plato of France, Bossuet, and Fénelon.

Thus France in the seventeenth century was laying the foundations of speculative philosophy in contradistinction to the triumphant empiricism of Bacon and Locke in England, as in the eighteenth century she defended experience against the nebulous metaphysics of Germany; going on, step by step, guided by her native gift of lucidity, in the two highways opened to the world by Plato and Aristotle, and always aiming to re-establish equilibrium by leaning toward that side which contemporaneous exaggerations were endangering.

Pascal (1623–1662), another great philosophical thinker, takes rank also as a great writer by his *Lettres provinciales* (1657), against the loose system of morals, upheld by the Jesuits, and in his *Pensées*, fragments of a work which he intended to compose upon the truth of Christianity. With Pascal should be mentioned his friends, the pious recluses of Port-Royal, intensely earnest, but somewhat narrow minds, who founded, in the heart of Catholicism and of the Gallican Church, an energetic and active sect, which was persecuted by Louis XIV., and which revived theological discussions in the middle of the seventeenth century. The principal doctors of Jansenism were Le Maistre de Sacy, Antoine Arnauld (whose life was a perpetual theological discussion with the Jesuits, with the Protestants, and with Malebranche), Nicole, and Lancelot.

Erudition. — A few laborious spirits continued in endeavors to elucidate classical antiquity, and to clear up the chaos of the nation's early history. They had little or no influence upon the language, since usually they were not stylists, and many of their books were in Latin, but they had a powerful influence upon thought. The greatest of these learned men were Casaubon, Scaliger, Salmasius, Duncange, and Baluze, several Benedictines of Saint-Maur, Mabillon, Montfaucon, etc., and the Protestant Bayle. Mézeray (1610–1683) wrote a history of France to Louis XIII., which is more valuable for its style than for its matter; Abbé Fleury (1640–1723) wrote an ecclesiastical history of considerable repute; Le Nain de Tillemont, a learned history of the Roman emperors.

Literary Influence of France. — No other nation of Europe

could exhibit such a magnificent collection of literary productions. Italy and Germany were in complete moral degeneration. Spain still possessed eminent painters and too prolific writers. England had had Shakespeare in the beginning of the century, Milton in the middle, and Dryden at the end; but its literature had not gained influence beyond its own island. France, on the contrary, by the recognized superiority of her wit and her taste, forced all Europe to accept the sway of her artists and her authors.

Sciences. — In the sciences she kept abreast of the movement, but was not at its head; for though she had Descartes and Pascal, other countries possessed Kepler, Galileo, Newton, and Leibnitz. Alchemy, magic, astrology, all the follies of the Middle Age, became sciences from the moment that man ceased to concern himself with the impenetrable essence of things, and instead of stopping before isolated phenomena proceeded to investigate the laws which produce them. This period began with Copernicus, in the sixteenth century; but it was not until the seventeenth century that the revolution was accomplished, and triumphed under Kepler, Bacon, and Descartes.

Descartes greatly advanced algebra by inventing the notation of powers by numerical exponents; also the geometry of curves, which enabled him to solve problems hitherto considered insoluble. He discovered the true law of refraction; he believed, with Galileo, in the theory of the earth's motion round the sun, and his system of *vortices*, though in itself chimerical, was the germ of the celebrated Newtonian hypothesis of attraction. To the mind of Descartes, as to that of Newton, the problem of the physical universe is a problem of mechanics, and Descartes was the first to show, if not the solution, at any rate the true nature of the problem. Pascal composed his treatise on conic sections, at the age of sixteen. A little later he invented the calculus of probabilities, demonstrated the weight of the air by his famous experiment on the Puy de Dôme, and invented the dray, and perhaps the hydraulic press.

After these two great men come a numerous crowd of others, — Pierre Fermat, perhaps the most powerful mathematical mind of this period; Abbé Mariotte and Denis Papin, who first thought of employing compressed steam as a motive force, and made in Germany, on the Fulda, some experiments with a steamboat which ran against the current.

Geography was reformed by Nicolas Sanson and Guillaume Delisle; Tournefort revived the study of botany. The royal press equalled the Dutch publications in correctness and elegance; and surgery continued the traditions of Ambroise Paré. Three foreigners whom Colbert attracted to France justified by their works the favors bestowed by the king,—the Dane Roemer, the Dutchman Huyghens, and the Italian Domenico Cassini.

Arts; Paintings.—Except in painting, the great age of French art is the sixteenth, and not the seventeenth, century. There is nothing among the monuments of Louis XIV. which equals the central pavilion of the Tuileries, the old Louvre, a part of Fontainebleau, or the châteaux of Francis I. and Henry II. But there were four painters of the first rank; Poussin, Lesueur, Claude Lorraine, and Lebrun; one admirable sculptor, Puget; architects of talent, Mansard and Perrault; and a skilful musician, Lulli.

Poussin (1594–1665) lived a long time at Rome and was considered the greatest painter of his time; in spite of his too sombre coloring he remains at the head of the French school on account of the moral elevation, the dramatic interest, the richness and poetic quality of his compositions, his pursuit of the ideal, and the dignity of his life. Lesueur and Lebrun may be regarded as his pupils. Lesueur was born at Paris, lived poor and obscure, and died at the age of thirty-eight in 1655. He was a frank and gentle spirit; his paintings, always graceful, even in the sternest subjects, by softness of tone and delicacy of touch express admirably the sentiments and even the deepest affections of the personages whom he represented. Of another sort was his rival, Lebrun, born at Paris two years later (1619), whose talent, often theatrical, better suited the taste of Louis XIV. The king appointed him his chief painter, and commissioned him to decorate the great gallery of Versailles. He was at work on it fourteen years. He was, until the death of Colbert, the arbiter and even the dictator of the arts in France; his influence and sometimes his touch may be recognized in all the works of the time. His drawing was weak and heavy, the expression of his faces somewhat exaggerated; he had neither the bright coloring of Titian nor the natural grace of Lesueur, nor the spirit of Rubens, nor Poussin's depth of thought. Yet he holds the chief place among painters of the second rank. The establishment of the

French school at Rome is due to him; thither the young artists who have taken what is called the *grand prix de Rome* are sent at the expense of the government to finish their studies among the masterpieces of antiquity and the great Italian masters. A place must be kept beside these four master-painters for Philippe de Champagne, who left some admirable portraits. Claude Gelée, called Claude le Lorrain (born in Lorraine in 1600, died at Rome in 1682), is the best of the French landscape painters, and one of the best in Europe: he is distinguished for the richness of his style and the beauty of his coloring. Others to be noted are Rigaud, the most eminent of French portrait painters, and Watteau, of Valenciennes (1684-1722), who inaugurated the genre style with mannerism, but with brilliant coloring.

Sculpture and Engraving. — Puget, like Michael Angelo, whose pride and energy he equalled, was at the same time painter, architect, and sculptor. He was born at Marseilles in 1622, and died in 1694. He was for a long time engaged in carving wooden figures for the sterns and galleries of the ships of Toulon, built several splendid hotels on the Canebière, and filled Genoa with his masterpieces. Louis XIV. ordered of him the group of Perseus and that of Milo of Croton, remarkable for energy of expression and truthfulness of design. But Puget was a man of too independent a character to succeed at Versailles. He left no pupils. Coysevox, the two Coustous, and Girardon are the product of another system; they are rather sculptors of the graceful school, masters of a brilliant and easy style without elevation. Girardon filled Versailles with his works; the mausoleum of Cardinal Richelieu at the Sorbonne is his masterpiece.

Architecture. — François Mansard forsook the elegance and grace of the Renaissance for a style which he thought majestic, but which was in reality heavy. He invented the mansard roof. His nephew, Jules Hardouin Mansard, was a cold and regular genius, who almost attained grandeur of design, because Louis XIV. gave him unlimited space and money; but who seems wanting in inspiration and elegance, except in his beautiful cupola of the Invalides. Claude Perrault (1628-1688) was at once a surgeon, a physician, and a great architect.

Music. — The Florentine, Lulli, came to Paris at thirty years of age, and was, with Quinault, the real founder of

the opera in France. His music now seems cold and characterless, even in the case of sacred music, in which he excelled. His contemporaries held another opinion: "I do not believe," wrote Madame de Sévigné, upon hearing the service sung for the Chancellor Séguier, "that there will be any other music than his in heaven."

Monuments and Endowments. — The principal monuments of the reign of Louis XIV. are: the Val-de-Grace, the Observatoire, built after the designs of the astronomer Picard and of Claude Perrault (1666); the Porte St. Denis, and the Porte St. Martin; the Invalides, with its church; the Place du Carrousel, between the Louvre and the Tuileries; the Place des Victoires, and the Place Vendôme, built or rather enlarged to receive the statues which Marshal de la Feuillade and the municipality of Paris had erected to Louis XIV. at the time of the treaty of Nymwegen.

Work upon the Tuileries had been carried on from the beginning of the reign; the west façade was completed, the garden was reunited to the château and laid out upon a new plan. There was more to be done to the Louvre. Under Louis XIII., Lemercier had finished the western interior façade. The masterpiece of Pierre Lescot was now to be completed. Colbert submitted the matter to competition; the plans of the physician Claude Perrault were preferred. Between the years 1666 and 1674 the celebrated colonnade of the Louvre was built. At the same time the outer southern façade overlooking the Seine, and also the northern, were commenced. These great works were at first carried forward with great activity; by degrees the work progressed more slowly, and finally it was suspended entirely in spite of the remonstrances of Colbert. The king then built Versailles.

Louis XIV. disliked Paris, which had given birth to the Fronde, and whose monuments told of so many other princes. Versailles seemed to him a safer place, which he could fill with his own majesty, and where the court, hitherto lost in the immense capital city, would assume all the distinction of royal domesticity as the palace of the monarch became surrounded by a princely town. The works undertaken from the year 1661 were entrusted to Jules Mansard, and were continued without interruption till the end of the reign. Le Nôtre, Lebrun, and Girardon embellished this royal dwelling-place, which cost two hundred and fifty or

three hundred millions of the nation's money, and where nothing is commemorative of France but everything suggests the king. Versailles was poorly supplied with water; the machine of Marly was built at great expense. Still other waterworks, of gigantic extent, were projected; but after enormous expense had been incurred, the king was forced to abandon them.

The king also built at this time the great Trianon and Marly (1679), which, according to Saint-Simon, cost as much as Versailles. Last of all, the châteaux of St. Germain, Fontainebleau, Chambord, St. Cloud, and Sceaux were enlarged and restored. It is estimated that 160,000,000 livres, which would amount at the present time to two or three times as much, were spent on these constructions. There was certainly an excessive disproportion between the expenses incurred for the fancies of the king and those which had for their object the interest of the country. This was the inevitable consequence of a political system which placed at the discretion of the prince, without discussion and without control, the whole public welfare.

Beginning of a New Literature. — Louis XIV. established the absolute authority of kings, but at the same time he encouraged industry and literature. Thus he fostered the two forces destined to overturn absolutism itself. The one would give the Third Estate wealth, which would cause it to demand political safeguards; the other, intelligence, which would cause it to demand rights. The spirit of criticism which, during the minority of Louis XIV., had advanced so powerfully in the sphere of philosophical and religious subjects, had recoiled before the splendors of his reign, and had either become silent or taken refuge in the cells of a few recluses. It reappeared when sincere or official enthusiasm fell exhausted beneath the repeated strokes of public misfortune. The study of letters leads us then to the same result as that of politics, and we shall end this chapter, like the preceding one, by announcing the approach of threatening changes.

FOURTEENTH PERIOD.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—DEVELOPMENT OF
THE ABUSES OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.—PROG-
RESS OF PUBLIC OPINION. (1715–1789.)

CHAPTER LV.

MINORITY OF LOUIS XV. AND REGENCY OF THE DUKE
OF ORLEANS.

(1715–1723 A.D.)

Regency of the Duke of Orleans (1715–1723).—The weight of the authority of Louis XIV. had been crushing during his last years. When the nation felt it lifted, it breathed more freely; the court and the city burst into disrespectful demonstrations of joy; the very coffin of the great king was insulted. The new king was five years old. Who was to govern? Louis XIV. had indeed left a will, but he had not deceived himself with regard to the value of it. “As soon as I am dead, it will be disregarded; I know too well what became of the will of the king, my father!”

As after the death of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., there was a moment of feudal reaction; but the decline of the nobility may be measured by the successive weakening of its efforts in each case. Under Mary de’ Medici it was still able to make a civil war; under Anne of Austria it produced the Fronde; after Louis XIV. it only produced memorials. The Duke of Saint-Simon desired that the first prince of the blood, Philip of Orleans, to whom the will left only a shadow of power, should demand the regency from the dukes and peers, as heirs and representatives of the ancient grand vassals. But the Duke of Orleans convoked the

Parliament in order to break down the posthumous despotism of the old king, feigning that the king had committed the government to his hands. The regency, with the right to appoint the council of regency as he would, was conferred upon him, and the command of the royal household was taken from the Duke of Maine, who yielded this important prerogative only after a violent altercation.

As a reward for the services of his two allies, the Duke of Orleans called the high nobility into affairs, by substituting for the ministries six councils, in which they occupied almost all the places, and accorded to Parliament the right of remonstrance. But two years had hardly passed when the ministries were re-established, and the Parliament again condemned to silence. It was plain that neither nobility nor Parliament were to be the heirs of the absolute monarchy.

State of France. — The regent had possession of the government; but the heritage left by Louis XIV. was a terrible thing: more than 2,400,000,000 of public debt, with a cash balance of 800,000 livres; an excessive scarcity of specie; commerce paralyzed; the nobility overwhelmed with debt; the magistrates and the annuitants long deprived of the revenues due them from the State; the peasants in need of everything; many portions of the country uncultivated and deserted. Peace, at any price, was necessary to enable the country to recover and the regent to maintain his position.

Alliance with England (1717). — In England, the Whigs again asked for war; but Europe was for the moment tired of fighting, and the house of Hanover felt the necessity of strengthening its position before attempting anything outside. As for Spain, Philip V. again claimed the regency, and proposed, if the young king died, to claim the crown himself. To form an alliance against Spain with England, the jealous guardian of Philip V.'s renunciations of the throne of France, and thus to fortify himself against personal danger, was the policy of the regent — a policy which was useful to himself, and might be made useful also to France; but that was conditional on the way in which it was carried out.

By the Triple Alliance concluded January 4, 1717, between France, England, and Holland, the regent consented to send away the Stuart Pretender, to demolish the works at Mardyck, and fill up the port of Dunkirk. Commerce and even navigation in the South Sea was forbidden to the French.

The Protestant succession in England was recognized, and in return the English government recognized the succession to the throne of France established by the treaty of Utrecht; that is to say, the exclusion of Philip V.; finally, a defensive alliance between the two countries was concluded.

War with Spain (1719–1720).—Cardinal Alberoni, the bold minister of Philip V., had undertaken to restore the finances, agriculture, and marine of Spain, and to win back the domains which had been taken away by the treaty of Utrecht. The emperor had enough to occupy him with the Turks; to give England something to do, Alberoni intended sending against her the king of Sweden, Charles XII. A plot was organized in France, among all the enemies of the regent, by the Spanish ambassador Cellamare and the Duchess of Maine. But the plot was discovered, and the Duke of Cellamare arrested together with the Duke and Duchess of Maine. The regent declared for reprisals.

A new treaty, in 1718, reunited France, England, Holland, and Austria. The English attacked the Spanish fleet, without declaration of war, on the coast of Sicily and defeated it (1718). Another fleet, which was to convey the Pretender to Scotland, was destroyed by a tempest, and the English took Vigo, while Berwick entered Spain with the French army (1719). Alberoni succumbed to such an accumulation of reverses, and Spain subscribed to the conditions of the quadruple alliance. The Duke of Savoy was forced to accept Sardinia in exchange for Sicily, which, with the Milanese, remained in the possession of the emperor. But the eldest child of the second queen of Spain was given the reversion of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany (1720). This war had thus established more firmly the domination of Austria over Italy, and that of England upon the ocean. France had spent millions and had won no glory.

Dubois.—Who, then, served the enemies of France so faithfully? A councillor to whom the regent confided everything, the abbé Dubois. “All vice,” says Saint-Simon, “perfidy, avarice, debauchery, ambition, the basest flattery, struggled in him for the mastery.” Added to these he possessed a supple and active mind, extreme maliciousness, and a tremendous capacity for work. Such was the former preceptor of the Duke of Orleans, who had communicated to his pupil as many of his vices as the generous nature of

the latter would absorb. Dubois had negotiated the treaty of the Triple Alliance very skilfully. The regent rewarded him for it by giving him, at the request of Great Britain, the ministry of foreign affairs. England, we are assured, paid him enough to insure his good offices, — fifty thousand crowns a year. He did even better after; he persuaded the regent to make him archbishop of Cambrai, received all the orders in one day, and profaned by his presence the seat so recently consecrated by the virtues of Fénelon. Finally, a little later, he became cardinal by spending eight millions.

Disorder of the Finances. — A debt of 2,400,000,000 livres, of which almost a third had already matured; a gross revenue in 1715 of 165,000,000, a net revenue of 69,000,000, for an expenditure of 147,000,000, and consequently a deficit of 78,000,000; the greater part of the receipts for the following year already expended: such was the condition of the finances at the death of Louis XIV. Some advised bankruptcy. The Duke de Noailles, president of the council of finances, obtained at first some resources by recoinng specie; then he undertook to diminish the debt by a reduction of the annuities and a strict examination into frauds, and to reduce the expenses. Several persons were ruined by the investigation, but the greater number escaped by bribery. 220,000,000 had been counted upon from this operation; it produced only 70,000,000, of which only 15,000,000 in cash ever reached the treasury. In spite of these performances, and several useful measures, the deficit of the year 1716 was still 97,000,000. The remedy, therefore, had not been found. Then a man came forward who claimed to suggest the proper one.

Law's Financial Revolution (1715–1720). — The Scotchman, John Law, initiated at an early age in the operations of banking, later accustomed to the combinations of gambling, by which he had made his fortune, and gifted with great powers of intelligence and speech, conceived the idea of creating a new power, — that of credit, basing his deductions on this half-truth, that abundance of specie gives prosperity to commerce and industry, from which he drew the entirely false conclusion that it is advantageous to substitute paper money, which is susceptible of indefinite multiplication, for specie.

The Duke de Noailles was opposed to making the first experiment upon the finances of the State, and Law was

obliged to limit his operations to the founding of a private bank with a capital of 6,000,000, the stock payable, one-fourth in specie and three-fourths in state notes. The bank discounted at six per cent per annum, and soon even at four, and issued notes which it paid at sight, in specie. Then every one rushed to it, and contended for its paper, which singularly facilitated commercial transactions. Business revived, and the State established the bank's reputation for solvency, by ordering the royal treasury officials to receive its paper as money in payment of dues and taxes (1717). In 1718 it was made a royal bank.

But Law had added to the bank a company which obtained exclusive privileges of trade in the valley of the Mississippi. Marvellous results were expected from the exploration of Louisiana. Reports were spread of mines of gold and silver discovered there. Soon the *Compagnie d'Occident*, absorbing the Senegal Company and the West India Company, took the general title of *Compagnie des Indes*, and prospectively opened all portions of the globe to speculators. Such were the extravagant hopes formed upon this enterprise, that shares of five hundred livres were sold at ten, twenty, thirty, and forty times their value. The treasury notes, which had fallen to about seventy or eighty per cent, went up in value on account of the need of the money for buying shares, and the State paid its debts with a paper which it could multiply at will without alarming credit.

This was the most brilliant moment of the system. The shares went up, in October, 1719, to twenty thousand francs. The Rue Quincampoix, in which the royal bank stood, was constantly crowded to suffocation. All classes were given up to frenzied stock-jobbing. Enormous profits were made in a moment. A tanner of Montélimart retired with 70,000,000, a banker's servant with 50,000,000, a Savoyard with 40,000,000. The Duke of Bourbon and his mother won 60,000,000. The regent won also, and as much as he wanted; but all for his courtiers, for he did not know how to keep anything. Public morality fell very low under the effects of these sudden changes of fortune and unlawful gains.

But the bank was serving its purpose; it loaned to the State 1,600,000,000 of paper money, with which the latter reimbursed its creditors, and which returned to the bank in exchange for the shares of the company. In vain Law endeavored to moderate the issue of paper; he could no longer

control it. The issues exceeded 3,000,000,000, while the entire specie of France did not amount to more than 700,000,000. This disproportion made a catastrophe certain. The whole system was kept up only by the confidence of the public. About the end of 1719 a few persons lost enthusiasm; the more prudent ones drew specie from the bank, or sold their shares for gold, silver, diamonds, or lands. The shares ceased to go up, wavered, then fell rapidly. Every one foresaw the disaster and demanded specie. Law, who had become comptroller-general, struggled desperately; specie payment was suspended; no one was allowed to have gold or silver in his house; there were prosecutions, domiciliary visits, and denunciations. Law barely escaped being torn in pieces. Then by a sudden revulsion, the State, which a little while before had proscribed coin, declared that it would receive no more payments in paper: this was the death-warrant of the system. Law escaped from France wholly impoverished (1720). It now remained to liquidate accounts. The public debt was found to be increased by nearly 13,000,000 of interest per annum. But the extinction of a great number of offices, and the redemption of several alienated revenues, compensated for this increase. The State was left in about the same condition as that in which Law found it.

Change in Manners and Ideas.—Such is the history of this famous system. It showed the power of credit; it gave industry and commerce an energetic impulse; it delivered agriculture from the tithes on landed property, and from the arrears due on the *taille*. And, though it made sad ruin, it ameliorated the public fortune by a reduction of 20,000,000 on taxation, and by a redistribution more favorable to the lower classes. But while reversing the conditions and fortunes of men, it also accelerated the change already begun in manners and ideas. That court which surrounded Louis XIV., with its grave and solemn aspect, had been dispersed. It could not be brought together again under a minor king, with a regent whose first thought was of pleasure and who cared little for etiquette or regal dignity.

Debauchery had, until then, kept within certain limits; cynicism of manners as well as of thought was now adopted openly. The regent set the example. There had never been seen such frivolity of conduct nor such licentious wit

as that exhibited in the wild meetings of the *roués* of the Duke of Orleans. There had been formerly but one salon in France, that of the king; a thousand were now open to a society which, no longer occupied with religious questions, or with war, or the grave futilities of etiquette, felt that pleasure and change were necessities. The *Œdipe* of Voltaire and the *Lettres persanes* of Montesquieu opened the fire upon the old régime.

Pestilence in Marseilles (1720). — During these Saturnalia of the court a terrible scourge had desolated Provence, where the plague carried off 85,000 persons, and a famine succeeded the epidemic.

Death of Dubois and the Duke of Orleans (1723). — Louis XV. attained his majority February 13, 1723, being then thirteen years old. This terminated the regency of the Duke of Orleans. But the king was still to remain a long time under tutelage; the duke, in order to retain the power after resigning the regency, had in advance given Dubois the title of prime minister. At the death of the wretched Dubois he took the office himself, but held it only four months, dying of apoplexy in December, 1723. France had been eight years in his hands; the time had arrived for the outburst of the moral revolution prepared by the last years of Louis XIV.

CHAPTER LVI.

REIGN OF LOUIS XV.

(1723-1774 A.D.)

Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon (1723-1726). — The Duke of Bourbon, who became prime minister on the death of the regent, had scarcely better morals than those of his predecessor. But he manifested great harshness towards the Protestants and Jansenists. He renewed, he even aggravated, the severities of Louis XIV. Emigration recommenced, as at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and the government was constrained by the public outcry to mitigate some of its cruelties.

The English ministry had continued to Madame de Prie, mistress of the Duke of Bourbon, the pension which it had, it is believed, granted to Dubois, and therefore the duke kept France in alliance with England. The regent had recently drawn closer to the cabinet of Madrid, and had asked for Louis XV. the hand of an infanta. The young princess, only four years old, was taken to Paris to be brought up. Such a marriage was advantageous for the house of Orleans; for since it could not be solemnized for a long time, it would leave the throne long without an heir, and consequently open to the first prince of the blood. But the new minister wished the king to take a wife who should owe everything to the minister, and should show her gratitude for his favor. Stanislas Leszczynski, the exiled king of Poland, was then living at Weissenburg, on an income granted him by France. The prime minister chose for queen of France the daughter of Stanislas, the amiable and pious Marie Leszczynski, although she was seven years older than the king, very poor, without beauty, and already old in appearance. The infanta of Spain was sent home to her father: this was the second repudiation of the policy of Louis XIV. within ten years.

Philip V., indignant at the insult, hastened to conclude with Austria the treaty of Vienna (1725). The king of

Spain granted to the Austrian merchants of the Ostend Company privileges which extended to all the ports of his domains, and guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction by which Charles assured the succession to his daughter, contrary to the custom of the Austrian dominions. In return, the emperor engaged to assist Spain to recapture Gibraltar and Port Mahon; he renewed the promises made in 1720 respecting the duchies of Parma and Tuscany, and promised two archduchesses to the two infantes.

Meanwhile Fleury took the place of the Duke of Bourbon. This ambitious, prudent man was bishop of Fréjus when Louis XIV. appointed him preceptor to his grandson. The amiable and witty old man gained the entire confidence of his pupil, and could have been prime minister at once upon the death of the regent; but he did not wish to take the position immediately. Yet he neglected nothing which could render him dear and indispensable to the king. The duke, on the contrary, brought himself into discredit. The re-establishment of antiquated taxes, long unused, was disapproved of. There was dissatisfaction also at others of his measures, and especially at an attempt toward uniform taxation of land. This time it was not the people only, but the privileged classes who were threatened. There was such an outcry that the ministry went down before it. One day the king, on setting out for Rambouillet, said to the duke, in a gracious tone, "Cousin, do not keep me waiting at supper." The same evening a lieutenant of the bodyguards conducted the duke to Chantilly (1726).

Ministry of Fleury (1726-1743); Internal Affairs; the Convulsionnaires. — Thus the septuagenarian bishop of Fréjus, who shortly after became cardinal, rose to power. He refused the title of prime minister, took only that of minister of State, and roused the king to declare that he would himself take charge of the government. But in fact, Louis contented himself with showing to the council board his handsome and perfectly impassive face. Beyond that, when he was neither gambling nor hunting, he made tapestry, turned snuff-boxes out of wood, or read with equal interest the secret correspondence which he maintained with his ambassadors, unknown to his ministers, or the scandalous anecdotes which the lieutenant of police sent him regularly each day. Fleury did the work of the government alone, but he did it modestly and quietly. He let

France repair her losses undisturbed, and enrich herself by an immense commerce, treating the State as a powerful and robust body which could take care of itself. The people were so tired of political and financial breaknecks, that this senile minister, this government which governed as little as possible, was almost popular, and lasted seventeen years. Fleury set up for his aim, peace and economy. He won the blessings of the people by certain reductions of taxation. He restored the public credit, re-established for the time the balance between receipts and expenditures, and constructed roads. Still, to leave industry and commerce to themselves, was a good policy only in case they were free; and besides, he allowed the French marine to go to ruin.

Nor was Fleury tolerant. He set again in operation the bull *Unigenitus*; he imprisoned several ecclesiastics who refused to sign it, removed the Jansenist professors of the Sorbonne, and cancelled a protest of the Parliament. Later, he exiled forty of its members, and soon after recalled them for fear of some disturbance (1730), so that Parliament, emboldened, allowed the spirit of opposition again to enter the sanctuary of the laws. In 1727 an ascetic Jansenist deacon died in the odor of sanctity. It was soon reported that he had worked miracles; persons who stretched themselves on the tomb of the deacon felt convulsions, or nervous tremblings, sometimes injurious, sometimes beneficial. There were scenes both extravagant and scandalous; but the government had the wisdom not to interfere.

Foreign Affairs; Reconciliation with Spain (1726–1731).

—The Duke of Bourbon had bequeathed to his successor a quarrel with Spain, then allied to Austria, which obliged France to continue in alliance with England. Sir Robert Walpole, the principal counsellor of George II., agreed with Fleury in desiring peace. The war between the two leagues had had no other effect than a fruitless attack of the Spaniards upon Gibraltar in 1727. Fleury stopped it the same year. In 1731, at the death of the last Duke of Parma and Piacenza, the infante Don Carlos was put in possession of those states. The emperor withdrew his opposition only after the powers had accepted his Pragmatic Sanction. A good understanding was now re-established between the courts of Madrid and Vienna.

War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735). — The death of Augustus II., king of Poland, disturbed this peace. The

succession to him was claimed by Stanislas Leszczynski, and by the Elector of Saxony, whom the Russians and Austrians supported as candidate. Fleury would willingly have taken no part in this quarrel, but public opinion obliged him to sustain the father of the queen. He, however, was so slow in making his decision, that Augustus III., crowned at Cracow, forced Stanislas to take refuge in Danzig, where the Russians besieged him. Fleury sent fifteen hundred men to aid the candidate of France. They made brave efforts to raise the siege, but were finally forced to capitulate.

Public opinion forced Fleury to attempt retaliation for the treaties of Utrecht. He concluded with Spain and Savoy a treaty which promised to the king of Sardinia the Milanese, and to the Bourbons of Spain the kingdom of Naples for the infante Don Carlos. Securing the neutrality of England and Holland, he sent two armies, one to the Rhine, the other to Italy, commanded by the old marshals Berwick and Villars (1733). The first took Kehl, in spite of Prince Eugene, laid siege to Philippsburg, and was killed in battle. Villars, after two brilliant campaigns, died at Turin. His successors gained victories which delivered the Milanese into the hands of the French, and installed the infante on the throne of Naples and Sicily. This was a glorious revival for France; but the timidity of the cardinal hindered her from reaping the fruits of her victories. A complete renunciation of Italy could have been required of the emperor, and the independence of the peninsula could have been restored: but he was only compelled to give up the Two Sicilies, and compensated by the cession of Parma and Piacenza for himself and by having Tuscany given to his son-in-law in exchange for Lorraine. A supplementary clause assigned to Stanislas, as compensation for the throne of Poland, Lorraine and Bar, which, at his death, were to revert to France.

These conditions formed the treaty of Vienna (1735-1738). This was the most brilliant period of the ministry of Fleury. "After the peace of Vienna," says Frederick the Great, "France was the arbiter of Europe. Her armies had triumphed in Italy as well as in Germany. Her minister at Constantinople, the Count of Villeneuve, had concluded the peace of Belgrade, the last glorious treaty that Turkey ever signed, and which gave to her Servia, a part of Wallachia, and Belgrade."

War of the Austrian Succession (1741–1748). — In 1740 the emperor Charles VI. died. In order to assure his hereditary possessions to his daughter, Maria Theresa, he had obtained from all the European states, at great sacrifices, a solemn recognition of his Pragmatic Sanction, and he left to Maria Theresa an ample collection of parchments. "An army of two hundred thousand men," says Frederick II., "would have been more valuable." He had scarcely expired when five claimants came forward. The Elector of Bavaria, the king of Spain, the Elector of Saxony, claimed the entire heritage by right of blood; the king of Sardinia claimed the duchy of Milan, and the king of Prussia, Frederick II., four duchies in Silesia. Frederick II. had not a large kingdom, but his father had left him a rich treasury and a fine army, and nature had given him the rarest talents. He began by laying hold upon what he claimed. The battle of Mollwitz put him in possession of three-fourths of Silesia (1741).

Alliance with Frederick II. — The Count of Belle-Isle proposed in the French council an alliance with Prussia, and a plan which restricted Maria Theresa to Hungary, Lower Austria, and Belgium, and divided the rest among the claimants; the Elector of Bavaria was to be emperor. France took nothing for herself. It was thought that the abasement of Austria would be the elevation of France, and that by dividing Eastern Germany, France would be relieved of all anxiety on the Rhine. This plan was adopted in opposition to the opinion of Fleury, and the treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded upon this basis (1741).

Bohemian Campaign; Defection of Frederick II.; Death of Fleury (1741–1743). — France put into the field an army of only forty thousand men, and sent it into the heart of Bavaria. Capturing Linz, the principal barrier of Austria on the upper Danube, the Elector of Bavaria might have seized Vienna; but preferred to conquer Bohemia. Maria Theresa had time to arouse her faithful Hungarians; while the elector was being crowned emperor at Frankfort, the Austrians entered Munich (January, 1742). Frederick threatened Moravia, and defeated the Austrians at Chotusitz in Bohemia (May); but Maria Theresa was wise enough to make sacrifices in season: she gave up Silesia to him. Upon this condition, Frederick set aside the promise he had made to France.

This defection influenced others. The Elector of Saxony withdrew from the war; the king of Sardinia joined in it on the side of Austria. England, which had just overturned the pacific ministry of Walpole (February, 1742), and exacted a war against Spain because the latter refused to open her colonies to English trade, now loudly demanded war against France, whose commerce was increasing enormously. She promised Maria Theresa a subsidy of eight million francs, and fell upon the French ships everywhere. France had taken up arms for the benefit of others, and now the whole weight of the contest was about to fall upon her alone.

The French army in Bohemia had already been cut off by the Austrians; they even besieged it in Prague. Fleury spoiled everything by his timidity. Maillebois was operating in Franconia, but he could do nothing for the deliverance of Prague except to seize upon Eger. Along the line of retreat thus afforded, Belle-Isle, leaving Prague with fourteen thousand men, made, through the ice, the snow, and the enemy, a glorious but painful retreat. Soon after, Fleury died at the age of eighty-nine. Two new ministers — in the war department, the Count of Argenson (1743); in the department of finance, De Machault (1745) — conducted with wisdom the affairs committed to their charge.

Dettingen (1743); Defection of Bavaria (1745). — England had joined the contest; fifty thousand English and Germans arrived in the valley of the Main; Marshal Noailles hemmed them in at Dettingen, but the foolish impetuosity of the Duke of Gramont frustrated these skilful combinations, and there was only a bloody defeat instead of a victory. De Broglie, who commanded the army of the Danube, was forced to fall back before the Austrians as far as the Rhine, and Noailles was compelled also to retreat (1743). In order to retrieve their fortunes, it was considered necessary to put the king at the head of the armies. A new favorite, the Duchess of Châteauroux, an energetic and ambitious woman, endeavored to arouse him from his torpor. A serious illness detained him at Metz. At the news of his recovery the churches rendered thanks to God for having restored "Louis the Well-beloved" (1744). How easy was the task for a royalty which was still so popular!

Meanwhile the king of Prussia, alarmed at the progress of Austria and her alliance with Russia, again took up

arms, and penetrated into Bohemia as far as Prague. This diversion disengaged the line of the Rhine. The emperor Charles VII. returned to his electorate, but only to die. His son made a treaty with Maria Theresa, and renounced all pretension to the Austrian succession (1745).

Marshal Saxe; Fontenoy (1745).—France had no longer any object in the war; but it was necessary to conquer peace. She sought it in the Netherlands. Marshal Saxe, a natural son of the king of Poland, invested Tournai; fifty-five thousand English and Dutch, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, approached the town. The marshal decided to offer a defensive battle. He took up a strong position at Fontenoy. At the beginning of the battle (May 11, 1745) the English and Dutch attacks were repulsed; then the Duke of Cumberland massed his infantry in single column so as to pierce the centre of the French line. The English advanced slowly, as if upon parade. They outflanked Fontenoy. Ten regiments successively charged against this long column, immovable on account of its mass and its bravery, but were repulsed. The battle seemed endangered; the marshal prepared to retreat, but seeing the English column halt for a moment, he ordered a general attack on its flank. The column, surrounded, bent under the shock, opened, shivered; from that moment its strength was broken. The severed battalions fled hastily to the reserve. The allies had lost twelve thousand or fourteen thousand men; the French, more than seven thousand. This was a great victory, and had important results. Tournai, Ghent, the general depot of the enemy, Oudenarde, Brussels, Dendermonde, and Ostend capitulated. At the beginning of the following year the French entered Brussels.

Second Defection of Prussia; Reverses in Italy (1745–1746).—The victories of Hohenfriedberg and Kesseldorf having thrown Saxony and Dresden open to the king of Prussia, he signed at Dresden a new treaty with Maria Theresa, which confirmed the cession of Silesia. This defection left the French without an ally in Germany; the defeat of the Pretender, Charles Stuart, at Culloden (1746), prevented a revolution in England. Maria Theresa and George II., freed from all anxiety, the one with regard to Prussia, the other on account of the Jacobites, infused renewed vigor into the hostilities. Maria Theresa sought to indemnify herself in Italy. The French and Spanish army had been

gaining some successes there, but now the victory of Piacenza (1746) and the defection of Spain gave to the Imperialists all the northern part of the peninsula. The English, Austrians, and Sardinians attempted an invasion of Provence, but were compelled by Belle-Isle to retreat.

Raucoux and Lawfeld (1746-1747).—In the south, accordingly, France did nothing but defend her frontier; but in the north she had brilliant success. The battle of Raucoux, won by Marshal Saxe, marked the year 1746. Louis, after each victory, demanded nothing but peace, "not wishing," he said, "to negotiate like a merchant, but like a king." This unusual disinterestedness was suspected, and Holland, alarmed at seeing the French at her gates, re-established the stadtholderate as in 1672. The czarina Elizabeth (1747) placed at the disposal of the enemies of France fifty Russian ships and thirty-seven thousand men, who set out for the Rhine. France alone, facing all obstacles, was still advancing in the Netherlands, peace in one hand, and the sword in the other. Marshal Saxe won the battle of Lawfeld (1747), and the "impregnable" Bergen-op-Zoom was taken. Holland was invaded. In 1748 Saxe invested Maastricht.

Naval Operations; La Bourdonnais and Dupleix.—The naval war between England and France had begun in 1744, with an indecisive action at Toulon. Brest and Toulon were blockaded by the English, and Antibes bombarded. France could not, with thirty-five ships-of-the-line, cope with one hundred and ten. Her chiefs of squadrons at least made defeat honorable by their heroic courage. "In this war," says an English historian, "England owed her victories only to the number of her vessels." In America, the English captured Louisburg and Cape Breton (1745).

In the Indies, France had two distinguished leaders,—La Bourdonnais and Dupleix; if they could have acted in concert, and if they had been properly supported, they would have won Hindustan for France. The first had established everything in Bourbon (Réunion) and the Isle de France (Mauritius), of which he was governor for the India Company,—cultivation, arsenals, fortifications. An engineer, a general, and a sailor, he stopped at nothing; and from Mauritius, which, with its excellent harbor, had become the key to the Indian Ocean, he sailed about over that sea and drove the English from it. Dupleix endeavored to drive them

from the mainland of Asia; but the two quarrelled, and La Bourdonnais, recalled to France, was, on his arrival, shut up in the Bastile. Dupleix made a gallant defence of Pondicherry and gave the English a blow which was felt even in Europe. Peace was then for France as inopportune in India as in the Netherlands; but her navy was reduced to two vessels, and her debt had increased by 1,200,000,000 livres.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).—The peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in April, 1748, stipulated for mutual restitution of conquests. England recovered for four years the *asiento* (the right to import negroes into the Spanish colonies), and limited rights of trade with them; Austria ceded Parma and Piacenza to the infante Don Philip, Silesia to the king of Prussia, and several places in the Milanese to the king of Sardinia. France gave up Madras, and recovered possession of Cape Breton; but she kept nothing in the Netherlands, almost all of which she had occupied, and agreed to expel the Pretender from France. Marshal Saxe survived this treaty only a short time.

Commercial Prosperity.—The eight years which followed this peace formed the most prosperous period of French commerce in the eighteenth century. Lorient, which in 1726 was only a small market-town, had, in 1733, had imports to the value of eighteen millions. Bourbon became a great agricultural colony. Dupleix sought to establish in India a vast colonial empire. Guadeloupe, Martinique, and especially San Domingo, reached a degree of prosperity which was reflected upon all the merchant towns of the mother country, upon Nantes, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, which had in addition all the trade of the Levant. The sugar and coffee of the French Antilles drove out from the European market the similar products of the English colonies, and Louisiana began to flourish.

The last maritime war had only suspended this movement; as soon as the war was over it resumed its course with an energy which was seconded by the government itself; for in spite of the inactivity of Louis XV., and the wretched influence of Madame de Pompadour, the increasing strength of public opinion forced upon the government certain men and certain tendencies. The Marquis of Argenson had been called, in 1744, to the ministry of foreign affairs, and that of marine was given to Rouillé and De Machault, who made praiseworthy efforts to re-establish a navy. England, though

her navy was much larger, was nevertheless alarmed at this revival of French naval power, and especially at the progress of French commerce; and easily found cause for a quarrel.

Causes of the Renewal of War. — France had two magnificent possessions in America, — Canada and Louisiana; that is to say, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the two greatest rivers of eastern North America, which she thus held at both ends. But the boundaries of Acadia had not been determined, neither had it been determined whether Ohio belonged to Louisiana (France) or to Virginia (England). Also, both countries claimed Tobago. Commissioners were appointed to decide the question. They could come to no conclusion, and the colonies, drawing the Indians into their quarrels, began hostilities. Washington, then very young, surprised and killed, with part of his escort, a French officer named Jumonville, who was carrying to the English an order to evacuate the valley of the Ohio. This was the first blood shed in this war (May, 1754). Then, without a declaration of war, the English seized more than three hundred merchant vessels loaded with a cargo of 30,000,000 livres, and having on board 10,000 sailors, the greater part of whom they enlisted in their crews. War had begun.

Reversal of Alliances. — The English ministry, thanks to its gold, again let loose continental war. Prussia joined England; Maria Theresa, who had an implacable resentment against Prussia, proposed an alliance to the cabinet of Versailles in order to recover Silesia. The treaty of Versailles (1756), entirely advantageous to Austria, reunited the two powers. The czarina Elizabeth, Sweden, and Saxony acceded to it. Thus Austria became the friend of France, the enemy of England, her old ally, and France was about to attack Prussia. The whole system of European alliances was changed.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Conquest of Minorca (1756). — France, forced to fight with both hands, dealt at once a vigorous blow. She sent first against Minorca, then in the possession of the English, a squadron which defeated the fleet of Admiral Byng, and an army commanded by Richelieu, which captured the fortress of Port Mahon, hitherto considered impregnable.

Difficult Position of the King of Prussia. — The king of

Prussia, as usual, anticipated the action of his enemies. He surrounded the Saxons in their camp of Pirna, repulsed the Austrians at Lobositz, then absorbed the whole Saxon army. France sent two armies into the field during this campaign; one under Marshal d'Estrées into Westphalia, the other under Soubise towards the Main. Frederick would not have been able to defend himself against this formidable coalition if his allies had acted at all in concert. He had in his favor also the unskilfulness and carelessness of the French generals, Soubise and Richelieu, and the slowness of Daun, the Austrian commander-in-chief. He re-entered Bohemia, and won the bloody battle of Prague (1757). Defeated in turn at Kollin by Daun (1757), he was forced to retreat. In the east, the Russians took Memel from him, and beat one of his lieutenants at Gross-Jägerndorf; in the west, D'Estrées conquered Hanover, and another French army marched rapidly upon Magdeburg and Saxony. Thus the circle of enemies by whom Frederick was surrounded pressed upon him more closely each day (1757). He asked for peace. Believing him to be in extremity, they refused it. He took refuge in his indomitable energy.

Capitulation of Kloster-Zeven (1757). — Richelieu, who succeeded D'Estrées in the command of the army of Hanover, entirely surrounded the Duke of Cumberland in a cul-de-sac; but, instead of taking him prisoner, agreed to the capitulation of Kloster-Zeven, which the English government afterwards disavowed.

Roszbach (1757); Krefeld (1758). — Soubise, the favorite of Madame de Pompadour, had joined the forces which had been raised by the Empire to sustain Maria Theresa, and was marching upon Saxony. Frederick hastened from Silesia to the Saale: he had only twenty thousand men with which to oppose fifty thousand. He established himself at the village of Roszbach, concealing his cavalry and artillery. The allies advanced rashly and in disorder. Suddenly the Prussian artillery was unmasked and opened fire; their cavalry dashed upon the right flank of the army of Soubise; the infantry followed; the French and Germans were scattered in a few moments. The Prussians killed three thousand men, took seven thousand prisoners, captured sixty-three pieces of cannon, and lost only four hundred soldiers.

Frederick, leaving Soubise to run away, turned against the

Austrians, drove them from Saxony, to which they had returned, and followed them into Silesia, which he again took from them (1757). Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, just at this time became prime minister of England, and decided that country to make greater efforts in behalf of her ally. The king, in exchange for the numerous subsidies which Pitt caused to be voted him, sent one of his lieutenants, Ferdinand of Brunswick, to take command of the Hanoverian army, which, violating its parole, again took the field. The French retreated before this skilful general, recrossing the Weser, the Ems, and the Rhine, and were again defeated at Krefeld (1758).

Disorder in the French Armies and in the Administration.

—All the generals whom Madame de Pompadour placed at the head of armies were perfectly incompetent. Moreover, the quarrels of the court were continued in the camps, and several were accused of causing plans to fail and losing battles in order to ruin a rival. The armies, badly organized, were still more badly managed. Since women ruled the government, the higher part of the administration was given over to the most disorderly caprices. From 1755 to 1763 twenty-five ministers were appointed and displaced, "tumbling one after the other," writes Voltaire, "like the figures of a magic lantern." Plans were changed as fast as men.

Energy of the King of Prussia (1758–1762). — After Rossbach and Krefeld the French generals were given forces superior to those of the enemy and so gained occasional successes in Western Germany (1758–1760). But in general, in the western part of Germany, the only result of the war was the devastation of the country. In the south and east Frederick himself confronted the Russians, who took Königsberg from him, but whom he conquered at Zorndorf (1758), and the Austrians, who, at Hochkirch in Lusatia, killed ten thousand of his men. The Russians revenged themselves the following year at Kunersdorf, where twenty thousand men on each side were left upon the field of battle, and Frederick would have found himself in a critical position if his adversaries had known how to take advantage of their victory. The brilliant success of Prince Ferdinand at Minden (August, 1759) raised his hopes. He defeated Laudon at Liegnitz, delivered his capital, surprised by the Russians and Austrians, forced Daun into a dangerous

position near Torgau, and remained master of two-thirds of Saxony, while his lieutenants foiled the plans of the Swedes and French in the north and west.

But these "Herculean labors" had exhausted the strength of the king and his people. He held himself on the defensive during the whole of the campaign of 1761. Happily for him the czarina Elizabeth died at the beginning of 1762, and Peter III. at once declared the neutrality of Russia: Sweden withdrew from the struggle. Freed from danger on the east and north, Frederick recovered Silesia and made gains in Saxony.

French Reverses on the Sea and in the Colonies.— France had maintained the war on the continent not too unsuccessfully and without sacrificing the national territory, but also without much honor. On the sea she was contending with an enemy whose overwhelming superiority allowed her sailors the hope of but few victories. While England lavished all her care upon the navy, the French government left its colonies without ships, soldiers, or money, and unfortunate divisions weakened discipline. The English blockaded the French ports, and not a ship went out which did not fall into their hands; thirty-seven ships of the line and fifty-six frigates also were taken, or burned, or perished on the reefs. The descents made by the English on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany showed that the territory of France could be violated with impunity, since her fleet no longer protected her shores. The whole Atlantic coast of France, from Dunkirk to Bayonne, was as it were besieged.

Dupleix had been recalled in 1754; if France had sent him money and good soldiers, India would perhaps now be French and not English. Lally, his brave successor, could not hinder the English, commanded by the able Lord Clive, from getting the upper hand. In his turn he was besieged in Pondicherry, where, with seven hundred men, he defended himself nine months against twenty-two thousand. The English, finally masters of the city, drove out the inhabitants and razed it to the ground: this was the death-blow to the French power in India.

In Canada the Marquis of Montcalm captured Forts Ontario and William Henry, bulwarks of the English possessions (1756, 1757). But in 1759 he had only five thousand soldiers with which to oppose forty thousand, and the colo-

nies were in want of provisions, powder, and shot. The enemy besieged Quebec; Montcalm gave battle in order to save the city, and was mortally wounded, as was also the victorious English general Wolfe. Montcalm's successor, Vaudreuil, struggled for some time, but Canada was lost, and Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago were also lost.

Choiseul; the Family Compact (1761). — An able minister at this time acquired the greatest influence in the affairs of France, the Duke of Choiseul. Madame de Pompadour had recalled him from the embassy at Vienna to give him, in 1758, the portfolio of foreign affairs, which he exchanged in 1761 for that of war. Two years later he received in addition that of the navy, and had that of foreign affairs bestowed upon his cousin, the Duke of Praslin. Choiseul preserved the Austrian alliance, but he also formed another. He wished to gather together, as in a sheaf, all the branches of the house of Bourbon established in France, in Spain, in the Two Sicilies, and in Parma and Piacenza, securing to France the useful support of the Spanish navy. This treaty, famous under the name of the Family Compact, was signed in August, 1761. England immediately declared war against Spain, and wrested from her Manilla, the Philippines, Havana, twelve ships of the line, and prizes valued at 100,000,000 francs.

Treaties of Paris and Hubertusburg (1763). — The European powers were now weary of war. France had for her part of it spent 1,350,000,000. England had attained her end, the destruction of the French merchant and military marine; and her public debt was increasing enormously. Prussia was only kept on her feet by the energy of her king. Austria despaired of recovering Silesia. France and England signed preliminaries which resulted, in February, 1763, in the treaty of Paris. England acquired Canada, Acadia, Cape Breton, Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, Senegal, and Minorca. France retained the right of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; she recovered Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Désirade, and Martinique, and obtained St. Lucia. In the East Indies, Pondicherry and a few other settlements were retained, on condition that she should send no troops there. As Spain, while recovering Cuba and Manilla, gave up

Florida to England, France compensated her for it by the cession of Louisiana. "The war," said Frederick II., "had begun on account of two or three wretched huts; the English gained by it two thousand leagues of territory, and humanity lost a million of men." The treaty of Hubertusburg, between Maria Theresa and Frederick II., confirmed the latter in the possession of Silesia.

Political and Military Decline of France.—The Seven Years' War had been undertaken for the ruin of the king of Prussia; he came out of it victorious, and a new state took its place among the powers of Europe. As for France, the war had shown the incapacity of her generals, the lack of discipline among her soldiers, and with a few happy exceptions, the weakening of the military qualities of the nation. On the sea it was more than a decline; her ruin was complete.

Efforts of Choiseul; Acquisition of Corsica (1768) and Lorraine (1766).—Choiseul, a patriotic but not a great minister, earnestly desired to raise France from the degradation into which she had fallen. He tried to reorganize the army. He resumed, with energy, the excellent work of Machault for the creation of a fleet. Corsica, now in revolt against the Genoese, its former masters, was occupied, conquered, and united to the French territory (1768); it was in 1769 that Napoleon was born there, just in time to be born a Frenchman. Three years before, the death of Stanislas had led to the union of Lorraine with France. These were not glorious, but useful acquisitions. Choiseul also prepared that union of the navies of second-rate powers which was destined, a few years later, to become the league of the armed neutrality against the English. He restrained Austria from encroachment in Italy, tried to fortify the Swedish government against the intrigues of Russia, and extended a friendly hand to Poland.

Suppression of the Order of the Jesuits (1762–1764).—An important act of the administration of Choiseul, although it did not originate entirely with him, was the suppression of the Jesuits. This powerful society had spread in every direction. After having struggled energetically in the sixteenth century against Protestantism, and directed and ruled the Catholic world in the seventeenth, it had allowed to grow up within it those abuses which are developed by prosperity too long continued. Pascal, under Louis XIV.,

had attacked, in the *Lettres provinciales*, the lax morality of the Jesuit casuists, and bequeathed to the Jansenists, who filled the magistracy, the care of continuing the contest. The Parliaments had long been suspicious of spiritual soldiery whose attachments were not to France, and the philosophers rejoiced at every blow struck against them. Great hatred had sprung up against them throughout Europe. In 1717 they had been driven from Russia, and they had just been banished from Portugal (1759). The failure (for three millions) of Père Lavalette, prefect of the mission to the Antilles, who had mixed the affairs of commerce with those of religion, made a still greater stir, and had important results. The interested parties brought action against the company before the Parliament. When the examination was over, the Parliament passed two decrees: one condemning to the flames many books written by the Jesuits; and the other, receiving the appeal of the procureur-général against the constitutions of the society. The queen, the dauphin, a part of the court, and almost all the episcopate were for the Jesuits; but Madame de Pompadour, Choiseul, and the public were for the Parliament: they were triumphant. In August, 1761, the Parliament of Paris declared the institution, by its very nature, inadmissible in any well-governed state, "as being a political body which tends to an absolute independence and a usurpation of all authority." The Jesuits were forced to quit their colleges and houses within a week. A royal declaration of November, 1764, suppressed the society. Spain and Naples followed this example (1766); Parma did the same in 1768. Finally, even the Holy See was forced to yield to the persistent demands of the Catholic powers, and Clement XIV. solemnly proclaimed, in 1773, the suppression of the Company of Jesus throughout Christendom. They numbered then twenty thousand, of whom four thousand were in France.

Disgrace of Choiseul (1770).—Choiseul had many enemies. The Jesuits had left behind them a powerful party. The dauphin, their pupil, was very hostile to the minister. The Duke of Aiguillon, the chancellor, Maupéou, the abbé Terray, comptroller of the finances, formed against him a triumvirate which would have been powerless without the shameful auxiliary whom they selected. Madame de Pompadour died in 1765, and had been succeeded by the Countess



MADAME DE POMPADOUR. (C. Cochin.)



du Barry, whose very presence was a stain upon Versailles. The Duke of Choiseul refused to yield to her disreputable influence. She swore his ruin and beset the king to procure it. The triumvirate urged her on and furnished her with arguments. Choiseul, the king was told, was the chief of the philosophers, the friend of Parliaments; he thought only of war, and the king thought only of peace. The cabal finally triumphed, and in 1770 Choiseul was banished to his estates.

Destruction of the Parliaments (1771). — During the whole century the parliaments had manifested a spirit of opposition to the court, to ultramontane pretensions, and to the increased taxation, which had not always been creditable nor well considered, especially in matters of religion, as in the case of the bull *Unigenitus*, for instance. The government had accepted this bull as a law of the State, but the Jansenists rejected it; they were sustained by the members of the parliaments. The archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, forbade the priests of his diocese to administer the communion to any one who was not furnished with a certificate of confession attesting that he had recognized the bull, and the sacraments were accordingly, in certain instances, refused. The Parliament was roused; it caused the bishop's excommunication to be burned; it ordered the seizure of the temporalities of the archbishop of Paris, and it took measures to force the priests to administer the communion to the sick (1752).

The magistrates, though once banished (1753), showed equal boldness on their return. The Parliament tried to form, with the other parliaments of the kingdom, a great body sufficiently strong on account of its union to play the part of permanent States-General, in defiance of the royal power. The king ordered the magistrates to confine themselves to their ordinary duties: a hundred and eighty handed in their resignations. The turmoil in Paris was extreme. A wicked wretch named François Damiens became excited to the point of attempting the life of the king (1757). He wounded him only slightly, and was quartered for it. The trial of the Jesuits, in 1762, revived the quarrel; another, in 1770, caused the struggle to break out. The Parliament had rendered a decision against the Duke of Aiguillon. The king stopped the procedure. The magistrates protested against such interference. It was just at this juncture that

Choiseul was dismissed and his place given to Aiguillon. Severe measures against Parliament at once followed. In the night of January 19th-20th, 1771, one hundred and sixty-nine magistrates were awakened by the arrival of two musketeers who enjoined upon them to sign, yes or no, a paper which informed them of an order to resume their duties. Thirty-eight signed yes, and retracted it the next day. The following night an officer signified to each of them the confiscation of their offices, and musketeers presented them *lettres de cachet*, which banished them to different places. At the end of the year there were more than seven hundred magistrates in exile. Maupéou then formed a new Parliament.

The gravest element in the situation was that public opinion was at last deeply interested; that the opposition made itself heard even about the throne; that all the princes of the blood, with one single exception, and thirteen peers, protested "against the overthrow of the laws of the State"; and, finally, that the formidable name of the States-General was pronounced by the Parliaments of Toulouse, Besançon, Rouen, and even at Paris, by the court of aids. Soon, indeed, it would be necessary for the nation to assemble, but it would be for reconstruction; for everything was shaking and trembling. Richelieu and Louis XIV. had destroyed the political importance of the nobility. Louis XV. having destroyed the great body of the magistracy, what remained to support the old edifice and protect the monarch?

Famine Compact; Lettres de Cachet; Bankruptcy. — And each day the shame of this monarch increased. In 1773 Austria, Prussia, and Russia divided Poland among themselves, and France was powerless to prevent this execution of a whole people. In 1768 the association wittily called the Famine Compact renewed its lease for the monopoly of grain, and thus created the artificial famines of 1768 and 1769; the *lettres de cachet* were multiplied to a frightful extent, and thus the liberty of the citizens was placed in the hands of the rich and powerful who had a passion to satiate or a revenge to gratify. The abbé Terray, forgetting that an excessive taxation was ruinous to the treasury itself, changed the whole system of contribution in such a manner as to render the taxation overwhelming. Poverty increased, but the revenue did not, and bankruptcy was the

only expedient he devised for reducing the debt of the State. In spite of all this, Terray allowed an annual deficit of 41,000,000 livres to remain.

Meanwhile, since 1715, the taxes had more than doubled, having increased from 165,000,000 to 365,000,000. Louis XV. clearly foresaw that some terrible expiation was coming; but in his selfishness, he consoled himself by thinking that the catastrophe would fall on some other head; "Matters will go on as they are as long as I live," said he; "my successor may get out of the difficulty as well as he can." And Madame de Pompadour repeated with him, "After us, the deluge."

CHAPTER LVII.

CONDITION OF FRANCE AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF
LOUIS XV.

Spirit of Inquiry. — There had never been so earnest a desire for information of all sorts, or such boldness in venturing beyond the beaten tracks, as was exhibited in this century. Men had long consoled themselves for abuses by an epigram, and for crimes by a song. But now the public mind was becoming more serious, and consequently more formidable. In the presence of a royalty which took pleasure in degrading itself, of nobles "who seemed to be only the ghosts of their ancestors," and were unable any longer to produce generals, of a clergy among whom were no longer found either Bossuets or Fénelons, privileges were questioned, the titles of those powers formerly respected were investigated.

The principal work of royalty in modern society had been to establish territorial unity and governmental unity by the overthrow of feudalism. But conquered feudalism had left the land covered with ruins. Everywhere, in respect to both persons and things, there existed the most shocking inequalities and the strangest confusion.

Powers of the Government Ill-Defined. — The constitution not being a written one, everything depended upon customs. Royalty was, in theory, an absolute power; it was not always so in fact, for numerous interests, powers, traditions, and precedents formed an obstacle to it. No one's rights were defined. The ministers set violent hands upon justice when they would, as the parliaments did upon the law. A royal edict was valid only after having been registered by the parliaments, but the Council of State rendered *governmental decrees*, which dispensed with this formality. The clergy and the nobles had special tribunals; the Third Estate had public functions which it had bought, and, so far as the greater number of offices were concerned, the king was deprived of the right of calling the best and most capable men into the service of the State.

Bad Administrative Organization. — There were six ministers: the chancellor, head of the department of justice, but who had little more than a title when he was not also keeper of the seals; the comptroller-general of the finances, and the four secretaries of State, for the king's household, for war, for the navy, and for foreign affairs. These ministers presented a most singular confusion of functions. For instance, the governors and lieutenant-generals of provinces were not amenable to the minister of war, but the posts were amenable to him, and also Dauphiny and all the countries conquered since 1552. The minister of marine was at the same time minister of maritime commerce; he had under him the consulates, and the chamber of commerce at Marseilles, which of itself constituted a small ministry for the commerce of the Levant. The minister of foreign affairs regulated pensions, and administered the provinces of Guienne, Normandy, Champagne, Berry, etc. The minister of the king's household had charge of ecclesiastical affairs and *lettres de cachet*, of Languedoc, Paris, Provence, Brittany, Navarre, etc.; among the functions of the comptroller-general was the charge of bridges, hospitals, prisons, epidemics, domestic trade, and agriculture. Nevertheless unity appeared for a moment every fortnight in the *council of despatches*, at which the king and all the ministers were present, and in which important decisions were made. As for the administrative divisions, there were as many of them as there were difficult administrations. Their circumscriptions never agreed. One of the most deplorable principles of the administration was that of raising money by creating the most useless offices, which were of course permanently burdensome to the public.

Judicial Organization. — Thirteen parliaments and four provincial councils pronounced sovereign judgment in civil and criminal affairs; more than three hundred baillis' or seneschals' courts pronounced judgment in the first instance. The public prosecutor, unknown to the ancients, existed, but there was no justice of the peace, such as the Revolution instituted. The parliaments had very unequal jurisdictions. That of the Parliament of Paris covered two-fifths of France. Besides, there were military and commercial courts, and also seignorial, ecclesiastical, and municipal courts, and other courts of special jurisdiction. The chambers of accounts, the court of aids, and the court of

currencies judged all cases relative to taxes, currencies, and articles of gold and silver.

Rigor of the Penal Code. — The civil law confirmed much injustice, but the penal law commanded tortures before trial, and lavished with frightful indifference mutilations, death, and the most atrocious punishments, without allowing the accused an advocate to plead for him, without permitting contentious pleadings, without even requiring of the judge that he should give any reason for his decision. The slow and complicated proceedings, carried on in darkness and silence, sought less for truth than for a victim, and, regarding the prisoner as a criminal in advance, sometimes punished the innocent. For the same crime the peasant was punished much more severely than the noble. In vain had Voltaire made his eloquent protest against these deplorable judicial errors resound throughout France and throughout Europe; in vain had Beccaria's book expounded the true principles of criminal legislation; Parliament refused every reform. The magistracy, honest and enlightened, was much better than the law; but the law was such that it exposed to error the most conscientious judge, and caused the accused, however innocent, to tremble. Relics of mediævalism survived; the right of asylum existed even in Paris, in the enclosure of the Temple, and as late as 1718 the Parliament of Bordeaux had condemned a man to death for sorcery. The king still frequently pronounced sentence of imprisonment or exile without trial, and often without limit, and many trials were stopped or called up by the grand council.

Expensiveness of Justice; Diversity of Laws. — The magistrates, registrars, and officers of justice were not paid by the king, or else were poorly paid; consequently they secured their pay from the litigants at prices set by themselves. The proceedings were innumerable and endless, and the litigants were delivered over to the "robbery of justice." These exactions cost those suitors 40,000,000, or even 60,000,000 annually. The jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris extended in certain directions as far as one hundred and fifty leagues from the capital — another cause of ruin to litigants constrained to attend.

Instead of a single law there were three hundred and four different *customs*, so that it happened that what was justice in one province was injustice in another; and each parliament had special regulations.

Absence of Public Credit; Maladministration of Finances.

— France had no credit system, and still less with regard to the government than with regard to individuals. The most solemn promises having been violated a hundred times, the treasury obtained advances only by giving a pledge, and even with this disgraceful condition, it furthermore paid a usurious interest of twenty per cent. upon the advances of the farmers-general. The accounts were not made up until ten, twelve, and even fifteen years after the years to which they belonged, and were so unintelligible that no one, not even the minister, knew exactly what the State owed or what it ought to receive. Besides, since the time of Francis I., the public treasury had been confounded with the private treasury of the prince, so that the king helped himself freely from the common fund. Louis XIV. took in this way, in one year, 180,000,000, which were expended mostly in payment for his pleasures or to his courtiers. In 1769, after six years of peace, the expenses exceeded the revenue by 100,000,000, and certain revenues were used up ten years in advance.

Injurious Collection of the Public Taxes. — The taxes presented the strangest confusion. The government did not realize all its receipts. The indirect taxes were rented to companies of farmers of the revenue and to sixty farmers-general, who, on the one hand, made the treasury pay them a usurious interest, and on the other understood how to increase their own receipts from the people. A certain tax levied under Louis XV. was given up to them for 23,000,000; they obtained from it 40,000,000. Scandalous fortunes were made by the farmers; however, they were obliged to divide with the courtiers, assuring them of pensions or portions proportionate to their good offices. Great lords and great ladies received these degrading presents; Louis XIV. himself held out his hand for them. These farmers of the revenue had at their service a code so complicated that the tax-payers could not understand it, and so rigorous that, for the single offence of frauds in regard to salt, there were constantly seventeen hundred or eighteen hundred persons in the prisons, and more than three hundred in the galleys. The treasury was not more indulgent.

Defects of the Military Organization. — The requirements for the effective force in times of peace called for 170,000 men, of whom 131,000 were infantry, 31,000 cavalry, and

8000 for the king's household; but the real effective force did not amount to 140,000 men. There were not less than 60,000 officers in the active service or on the retired list. Commissions were sold even in the special services, and the purchasers could, without having seen any service, become general officers. The Duke of Bouillon was colonel at eleven years of age, the Duke of Fronsac at seven. In spite of the reforms of Choiseul there was much waste in the army, and a bad system of enlistment spoiled its composition. The regular army was recruited by voluntary enlistments, the militia by lot which designated ten thousand men each year who were compelled to serve six years. But the drawing of lots for the militia was marked by the most scandalous abuses; and if the volunteers made good soldiers, the recruiting-officers often sent to the regiments the dregs of the great cities; consequently there were annually four thousand desertions to foreign countries.

Ecclesiastical Administration. — The dioceses were very unequal: that of Rouen contained thirteen hundred and eighty-eight parishes; those of Toulon and Orange, twenty. The revenues were like the dioceses. The bishop of Strassburg had an income of five hundred thousand livres; the bishop of Gap, eight thousand. A large number of abbés had scarcely one thousand livres of revenue; that of Fécamp could expend one hundred and twenty thousand; that of St. Germain nearly three times as much. Many curacies were very rich; many vicars died of hunger. The king made appointments to all positions of any importance in the Church; the bishops, the chapters, and the lay lords appointed to the others. In a word, twelve thousand bishops, abbots, priors, and canons divided among them nearly a third of the revenues of the Church, more than 40,000,000 (present value 66,000,000): the remaining two-thirds sufficed for eight times as many priests and monks.

Differences of Condition between Persons and between Provinces. — The three orders of the State — clergy, nobility and plebeians — were distinguished by privileges or burdens which made of the French people three different nations, each having its hierarchy and its distinct classes. Thus, there was the greater and the lesser nobility, — the one living at court and upon the national budget, the other in the provinces and on its own meagre revenues; the upper and

lower clergy, — the former rich, the latter poor. Among the non-noble classes, fifty thousand families possessing hereditary offices of judicature formed a real aristocracy which did not mix with the financiers; the middle class scorned the artisan, and the peasant at the bottom of the ladder, in poverty and ignorance, bore angrily all the weight of a society which was crushing him. In the family itself there was inequality: the right of primogeniture left to the younger sons of noble houses only their swords or the Church, and to many daughters only the convent. Besides these three orders there were the serfs, the Protestants, who had no civil rights, and the Jews.

Some provinces, the *pays d'État*, such as Languedoc, Burgundy, Brittany, and Artois, still possessed a shadow of liberty in the management of their affairs; the others, *pays d'élection*, were under the absolute direction of the court; and the latter paid taxes that the former did not pay, or paid in a lesser proportion. Lorraine, the Trois-Évêchés and Alsace had no custom-houses between them and foreign lands. Others were surrounded by them on all sides. In 1789 there were still in existence in the South of France twelve hundred leagues of lines of internal custom-houses, and the same measure of salt could be bought in one place for six livres, and in another for sixty-two. The tax of the *twentieth* was less burdensome in Lorraine, Alsace, and Franche-Comté than in other provinces; Lorraine was not even subject to capitation tax; so that old France was burdened more heavily than the new France that she had conquered. And all this, without speaking of the privileges of localities, corporations, and persons.

Inequality with Regard to Public Functions. — Two classes of nobility divided between them all government positions. The "nobility of the sword" held all ranks of the army, the highest positions in the Church, and the chief offices of the court and of representation; the "nobility of the robe" held the offices of judicature and the offices of the higher administration. There remained for the plebeians only industry, commerce, and finance, by means of which, it is true, they could buy patents of nobility and become marquises, but they had to incur the taunts of those who had not thus risen to that rank, and the lasting scorn of those who had always possessed it.

Inequality of Taxation.—The nation paid at that time almost 900,000,000 livres.¹ The taxes were most unequally distributed. The clergy, who, besides the revenues of their immense property, received tithes of the productions of the land, paid little or nothing, but made “gratuitous donations.” The nobility and the royal officers, except in some generalities, were not subject to the *taille*, or land tax; they were subject to the other direct taxes, *capitation* and the *twentieth* of the income, but a great number found means to gain entire or partial exemption. The common people, who possessed only a small portion of the soil of France, paid the whole *taille*, 91,000,000; the tithe, which was in one place the fortieth, and in another the fourth part of the gross product, and cost the agricultural portion of the inhabitants the sum of 133,000,000; the seigniorial dues, valued at 35,000,000 (without making any account of the many vexatious restrictions to which the peasants were subjected for the benefit of their lords), and the *corvées*, at 20,000,000. For the great roads, for example, of which many were constructed under Louis XV., the State undertook only the expense of laying them out and of the constructive designs; the materials and the labor were furnished by means of the *corvée*, or enforced services; so that these works, so profitable to the whole country, were executed at the expense and amidst the hatred of the people who lived along the route.

Servitude of Industry and Hindrances to Commerce.—Corporations, wardenships, and masterships hindered the progress of industry by limiting the number of patrons, and by allowing only those to work at a trade who had paid for the apprenticeship. Not he who desired to do so became a master, but he who could buy a mastership at a cost of three, four, and sometimes five thousand livres. And after having paid all that, he had not yet purchased the right to improve upon his industry, for an improvement was an infringement upon the rights of the corporation. The manufacturer of stuffs could not dye them, the dyer of thread had not the right to dye silk or wool, nor the hatter to sell hosiery. Bound by minute regulations, the manufacturers were liable

¹ France paid, in 1786, according to M. Bailly, inspector-general of finances, for the benefit of the king, 558,172,000 livres; for the benefit of the provinces, 41,448,000 livres; for the benefit of individuals, corporations, and communities, 280,395,000 livres: total, 880,015,000 livres.

to see their products destroyed by the police on account of an inadvertence or a modification in the work which would cause no injury to the buyer. There was now only one coinage,—that of the king; and since 1726 commerce was not hindered by changes of specie; but it was injured by the diversity of weights and measures, which differed in each city. The India Company had until 1770, by its commercial privileges, impeded the efforts of private merchants. It had just been abolished; but in domestic trade the merchant still had to fight against restrictions and injurious monopolies. For instance, at Rouen one company was appointed to provide the city with grain; another had the privilege of transporting wheat; a third, that of grinding them in the mills: the people were forbidden to supply themselves elsewhere. Grain was not even sold from one province to another; so that jobbers could at will create famine or plenty at certain places. Added to this, the internal custom-houses rendered commercial relations between the provinces as difficult as with foreign countries. In order to pass down the Saône and the Rhone from Gray to Arles, one had to stop and pay thirty times, so that on this route trade left in the hands of the toll-gatherers from twenty-five to thirty per cent of the value of the products transported. Nevertheless, the French colonies were so flourishing, and European industry so backward, that in spite of all this French commerce was prosperous.

Decline of Agriculture.—Nearly one-fifth of the land, having come permanently into the possession of the clergy, produced but little, because it was not subject to the action of personal interest; almost all the rest, cultivated by *métayers*, produced but little more. Lands in the possession of the peasants themselves were heavily burdened with rents. The number of heads of live-stock was small, four times less than at the present day; consequently the lands were impoverished for want of sufficient manuring. Few great proprietors farmed for themselves. “One could not count,” said a writer of those times, “three hundred lords living upon their own estates.” Vauban and Bois-Guilbert complained of the discredit attached to the position of a farmer. This contempt arose from the great poverty in which the peasants lived, ruined by taxation, the *corvées*, the restrictions put upon the trade in grain; and even more seriously by the seigniorial rights of maintaining warrens, dove-cots,

and of hunting, which were so many scourges for the fields of the poor. The fine roads constructed by Louis XIV. ran only between the great cities. The greater part of the present roadways in France do not go back more than eighty years, and in many provinces the roads under the royal care were impassable for eight months in the year.

Individual Liberty and Property Ill-Secured. — *Lettres de cachet* placed the one at the disposal of the ministers and their friends; the other was threatened by confiscation, by the arbitrary power with which the court was armed for the creation of fresh taxation, by a justice which was not always impartial, and by those "decrees of suspension" which exempted the great from paying their debts.

Malesherbes, president of the Court of Aids, said to the king, in those remonstrances still so celebrated: "So long as *lettres de cachet* are in force, Sire, no citizen can be sure that his liberty may not be sacrificed to revenge, for no one is great enough to be securely sheltered from the hatred of a minister, nor so small as to be beneath the notice of a clerk of the farmers-general."

Liberty of Conscience refused; Censorship of the Press. — The most severe regulations still remained in force against dissenters. In 1746 two hundred Protestants were condemned to the galleys or to confinement on account of their religious worship, by the Parliament of Grenoble alone; in 1762 the Parliament of Toulouse caused a pastor who had ministered in Languedoc to be hanged. The same magistrates broke on the wheel the Protestant Calas, accused of having killed his son, who, it was said, had desired to become a Catholic, and who in reality had committed suicide. Censorship was still in existence. There were in fact several censorships, that of the king, that of the Parliament, and that of the Sorbonne. The condemned book was sold at a higher price, and was circulated none the less; sometimes even under the protection of the ministers themselves. The law declared the penalties of branding, the galley, and death, against the authors or pedlers of writings hostile to religion or the State; some silly persons allowed themselves to be taken up; more frequently the administration shut its eyes; and this mixture of excessive severity and blind tolerance only increased public curiosity. Men took pains to inform themselves of the suppressions, in order to know what books they ought to read. This age was indeed the period in

which Abbé Galiani defined eloquence to be "the art of saying everything without going to the Bastile." Fréret was sent there for a dissertation on the Franks; Leprévost de Beaumont, secretary of the clergy, remained there twenty-one years, until 1789, for having denounced the "famine compact" to the Parliament.

General Misery. — Everything gives evidence of the frightful misery of the people. The peasants of Normandy lived in great part upon oats, and dressed in skins; in Beauce, the granary of Paris, the farmers begged during a part of the year; they were often obliged to make bread of ferns. In a large number of the provinces the use of meat was unknown. "For three-fourths of the population of France," says a writer about 1760, "the consumption of meat does not amount to more than a monthly average of a pound per head." Vauban estimated that there were in France not more than ten thousand families in comfortable circumstances. The amount of articles of food was two or three times less than now.

"One sees," said La Bruyère, "certain ferocious animals, male and female, scattered over the country, black, livid, and burned by the sun, attached to the land which they dig and work upon with incomprehensible obstinacy. They have an articulate voice, and when they rise on their feet they exhibit a human face; and in fact they are men. At night they retire to their dens, where they live upon black bread, water, and roots. They spare other men the trouble of sowing, cultivating, and gathering articles of food." The moralist is here a faithful historian.

Insufficiency of Schools, Charities, Hospitals, etc. — The rich could give their sons an excellent education; some of the children of the lower classes succeeded also, thanks to their characters and to circumstances, in being admitted among the chosen ones. But the instruction of the poor in the small schools was insufficient, and the general ignorance was a strong contrast to the refined education of the nobility. Hospitals were not lacking; Christian charity had multiplied them; but poor-relief was very limited, and bands of beggars were constantly seen going through the country districts and frightening the people of the towns. France had then about eight hundred civil hospitals, whose inmates numbered one hundred and ten thousand individuals, but the mortality among them was frightful. In the Hôtel

Dieu of Paris, the richest hospital in France, those sick of all kinds of diseases, not excepting contagious ones, were placed promiscuously in the same rooms, sometimes as many as five and six in the same bed.

Morals. — Never, since the period of the Roman Empire, had morality fallen so low; and this corruption was general. The scandals at the Trianon were repeated at Windsor, at Potsdam, and at the palace of the Hermitage. The nobility and a portion of the rich middle class rivalled the court.

To show the entire overthrow of moral ideas a single instance will suffice. One of the most estimable men of his time, the Marquis of Argenson, was not afraid to write, "marriage, that monstrous obligation, which will surely go out of fashion." He wished that this obligation should become "like a lease-contract which could be entered into in October and given up in January, free unions being much more favorable to the race." Marshal Saxe, the Duke of Richelieu, a thousand others, indeed every one among the higher classes, held the same opinion, or acted upon it.

Disparity between Ideas and Institutions. — The Middle Age, dead in the political world, was still alive in the social world. Hence an intense discord between the constituent elements of society. The ideas, the general manners of the day, were indeed those of the eighteenth century; but the customs and many of the institutions were still those of the thirteenth. From the moment when this difference was felt a revolution was near at hand, for new ideas necessarily call for new institutions.

Vauban, Bois-Guillebert, Fénelon, D'Argenson, Machault, Choiseul. — These ruinous abuses, these injurious inequalities, this great disorder and poverty, provoked criticism. Vauban and Bois-Guillebert had demanded reforms from an economic point of view; Fénelon, from a political one. During the Regency the liberty and even license of the mind corresponded to that of morals. A little later a future minister, the Marquis of Argenson, in his *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de la France*, written before 1739, demanded local decentralization, municipal and cantonal councils, freedom of trade at home and abroad, and the election of the royal officers by ballot, and boldly declared that "two things were chiefly to be desired for the good of the State; one, that all citizens should be equal, the other that each should be the son of his own works." This was one of the articles

of faith of the Revolution, uttered in advance. Another minister, Machault, proposed to replace the *taille*, which was paid by the common people alone, by a land tax, to which the privileged classes, nobles and priests, should be subjected. Choiseul also spoke of reforms; convents seemed to him, as well as to Colbert, too numerous, and he considered, as did the States of Pontoise in 1561, that the suppression of the immunity from taxes granted to the Church for its immense domains would assist in a remarkable degree to re-establish the shattered finances of the State.

Increasing Agitation of Ideas.—The noblest powers of the French mind seemed turned towards investigations of the public welfare. The caprices of society were no longer held up to view in a spirit of ridicule, but for the purpose of reforming society itself. Literature became a weapon which all, the imprudent as well as the wise, tried to wield, and which, striking without intermission, was the cause of terrible and irremediable wounds. A strange consequence of this was, that those who had most to suffer from this invasion of politics by men of letters were those who applauded it most. This frivolous, sensual, egoistic society of the eighteenth century carried on, even amid its vices, the cult of ideas. Never were the salons so animated, courtesy so exquisite, conversation so brilliant. Talent there took the place of birth, and the nobility chivalrously invited the fire of that burning polemic which the sons of the bourgeois directed against them.

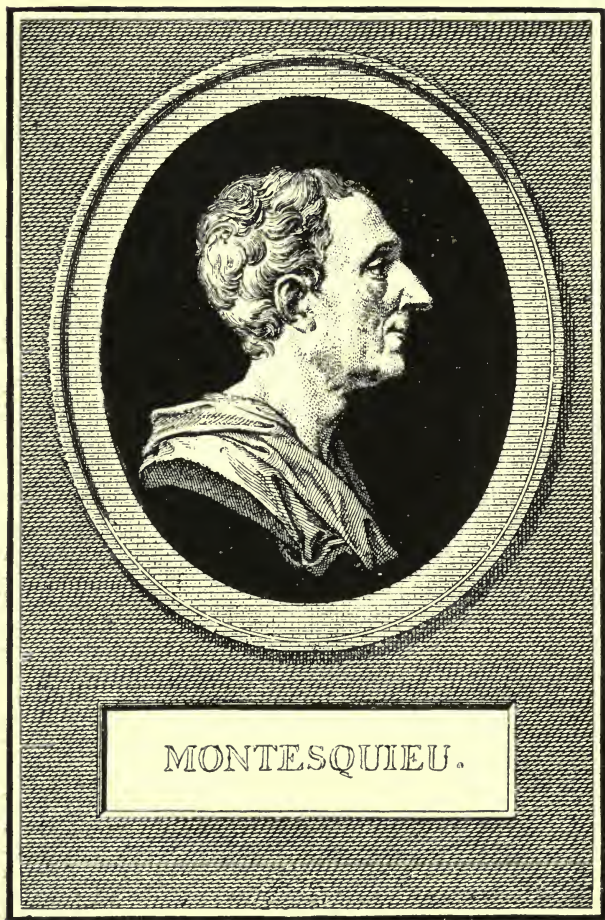
Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.—Three men are at the head of the movement,—Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. The first, whose real name was Arouet, was born at Paris in 1694, the son of a notary. He saw only the unhappy years of the Great King; and was one of the most enthusiastic of those who took part in the reaction against the religious habits of the last reign. At the age of twenty-one he was sent to the Bastille for a satire upon Louis XIV. which he had not written. His tragedy of *Œdipe*, full of threatening verses (1718), and his *Henriade*, an apology for religious toleration (1723), gave him immediate celebrity. A Chevalier de Rohan-Chabot revenged himself by the hands of his lackeys for some sarcastic words of Voltaire. Voltaire demanded reparation. The nobleman, by a second cowardly act, obtained from the minister an order to confine in the Bastille the impertinent plebeian who dared to call out a

great lord. Released soon after, but on condition that he should go to some foreign country, Voltaire went to England "to learn to think." He remained there three years, and studied Locke, Newton, Shakespeare, with an ardent devotion to liberty of thought and speech, even more than to political liberty. His next writings showed what he had brought thence.

Voltaire attacked the Church with stubborn animosity, and his most constant efforts were directed against the spiritual power which hindered thought, much more than against the civil power which only hindered action. With a view to this war, he made alliance with sovereigns and placed himself under their protection. He was in correspondence with the great Catherine of Russia; he sojourned at the court of Frederick II. His country seemed to him to be wherever he could think freely. He ended by establishing himself on the frontier of France, at Ferney, near Geneva. Thence were sent abroad, on every wind, light poems, epistles, tragedies, romances, works of history, science, and philosophy, which in a few days were known all over Europe.

In good and in evil, Voltaire represented the society of his time. The disorder of morals was to him a matter of indifference. But, growing old with the age, he took up as it did a more serious method of thought. Social evils became his personal enemy, and the love of justice his most ardent passion. He aided and defended the victims of deplorable judicial errors; he denounced incessantly the numerous defects of legislation, jurisprudence, and public administration. He held for fifty years the intellectual government of Europe, and he has justly merited the hatred of those who believe that the world ought to remain stationary, and the admiration of those who regard society as under an obligation to work unceasingly for its moral and material amelioration.

President Montesquieu (1689-1755), a calmer and graver spirit, though he wrote the *Lettres Persanes*, an apparently light but really profound and terrible satire (1721), spent twenty years in composing a single book, *L'Esprit des Loix*; but it was an immortal monument which he reared. Montesquieu seeks for and gives the reason for civil and political laws; he expounds the nature of governments; and if he does not condemn any of them, if changes of them dis-



• (SAINT-AUBIN.)



turb him but little, on the whole it is English liberty which he upholds for the admiration of France.

Rousseau, the son of a clockmaker of Geneva (1712–1778), when well advanced in a life full of faults, miseries, and inconsistencies, composed his first *Discours contre les sciences et les arts*. It was a declaration of war against civilization; his second book on *L'Origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, was another against the entire social order. In *Emile*, he laid out a chimerical plan of education; in the *Contrat Social*, he asserted the principle of national sovereignty and universal suffrage, proclaiming great truths and great errors with singular eloquence. Rousseau gave the frivolous society of his age a vigorous shock which brought it back to natural feeling; in his *Nouvelle Héloïse* he opened its eyes to real nature and true passion; he created the poetry upon which the nineteenth century has subsisted.

The political influence of these three men can be traced in the three great epochs of the Revolution; that of Voltaire in the universal enthusiasm of 1789, that of Montesquieu in the efforts of the constitutionalists of the National Assembly, that of Rousseau in the thought, if not in the acts, of the savage dreamers of the Convention.

Near to these great writers stood Buffon, the great naturalist; and Diderot and D'Alembert, who founded the *Encyclopédie*, that immense survey of human attainments, set forth in a manner often threatening to social order, always hostile to religion. Helvétius, Baron Holbach, Lamettrie, and the abbé Raynal went still further.

But a separate place is needed for the Chancellor D'Aguesseau, for the moralist Vauvenargues, for the abbé de Condillac, the powerful analyst; for his brother, the abbé Mably, the bold publicist; and for the Marquis of Condorcet, who, afterwards condemned with the Girondists, composed, while awaiting death, his *Esquisse des progrès de l'esprit humain*.

The Economists.—In the seventeenth century a nation was considered the richer the less she bought and the more she sold. Quesnay showed that the precious metals are the sign of wealth, not wealth itself, which he considered originated in agriculture. Gournay claimed industry as its source; Adam Smith, who lived a long time in France, labor.

Thus the mind of man attempted to solve the most difficult problems which relate to human society. And all of

them, philosophers as well as economists, sought for the solution on the side of liberty. From the school of Quesnay emanated the celebrated axiom, "*Laissez faire, laissez passer*," or, as D'Argenson put it, "Don't govern too much."

Arts. — Art had degenerated into prettiness. Charming works were produced; the hôtels of the rich were decorated with spirit and coquettish elegance; but neither a great statue nor a great picture was produced. And as Versailles was deserted for boudoirs, the architects reduced their plans to the modest proportions of a society which no longer assumed the grand air of the preceding age.

Nevertheless, Ange Gabriel reared the two charming colonnades of the Place de la Concorde, the École Militaire, the opera-hall of Versailles, and the château of Compiègne; Soufflot erected the Panthéon. The sculptors left few works. The painters have greater reputation, particularly Watteau (1721), although he represented only a conventional art, with his shepherdesses of the opera; Carle Vanloo, whose "*Æneas carrying Anchises*" is much praised; J. Vernet, celebrated for his marine paintings; Boucher, whom his contemporaries dared to call the French Raphael.

Sciences. — The more austere sciences were paving the way for their accession and empire by commencing the great works of investigation. But great discoveries and great men, with the exception of Buffon, do not belong to the reign of Louis XV. There were Réaumur, who constructed the thermometer called by his name; Clairaut and D'Alembert, who developed mathematical analysis; the botanists Adanson and Bernard de Jussieu; the astronomer Lacaille; the geometers Bouguer, La Condamine, and Maupertuis.

Increasing Power of Public Opinion. — All this mental work had succeeded in creating in France a new power, — public opinion, to whose influence the government began to be subjected. It was desired that the administration should no longer be a frightful labyrinth in which the wisest were bewildered; that the public finances should cease to be given over to plunder; that each person should have some security for his personal liberty and fortune; that the criminal code should be less bloody and the civil code more equitable. Religious toleration was demanded; and law founded on principles of natural and rational right; and the unity of weights and measures; and taxation payable

by all; and emancipation from labor and free admissibility to public offices; the most active solicitude for all popular interests; in a word, equality in the presence of the law, and liberty regulated by right.

These demands were so earnest, so general, that the necessity of acceding to them was plain to all intelligent minds. Never did a terrible movement have more prophets to sound the alarm. At home and abroad the same opinion was expressed; by Lord Chesterfield on the one hand, and by Kant on the other. "All the signs I have ever encountered in history as forerunners of great revolutions," said the former, "at present exist in France, and are every day increasing." As the century advanced and the shame of the government increased, as after Rossbach came the *Parc-aux-Cerfs* and the "famine compact," the voice of protest, at first merely satirical, became stern and formidable. The reign which had begun with the *Lettres Persanes*, ended with the *Contrat Social*.

In the second half of the eighteenth century all the governments of Europe, aroused and excited by French ideas, recognized the necessity of making many reforms. Kings and ministers set to work, — Pombal in Portugal; Ferdinand VI., Charles III., and Aranda in Spain; Tanucci at Naples; the grand duke Leopold in Tuscany; Joseph II. in Austria; Frederick II. in Prussia: they reformed the laws, destroyed privileges and abuses, and exacted important sacrifices from the nobility and clergy, while at the same time increasing their own power. They dug canals, multiplied highways, encouraged industry, commerce, and agriculture; they tried to increase the national wealth and the prosperity of the people, and some of them succeeded in doing so, though it was for the purpose of increasing their own revenues. Everywhere justice and toleration were talked of, and philanthropy became a fashion; but all this did not hinder diplomacy from recurring at need to the most Machiavellic proceedings. The governments, indeed, made reforms, but never thought of reforming themselves. In France, also, during the first part of the reign of Louis XVI., reforms were attempted, and it was only after they had proved abortive that the Revolution broke out.

CHAPTER LVIII.

REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. TO THE REVOLUTION.

(1774-1789 A.D.)

Louis XVI. — The new king, the grandson of Louis XV., was only twenty years old. He was a prince of pure morals, a somewhat narrow mind, and extreme timidity of character and speech; loving the right, and desiring it, but unfortunately too weak to be able to force those about him to carry out his wishes. The first thing he did was to remit succession dues; he reformed the law which rendered the *taillables* conjointly responsible for the payment of the taxes, and recalled the Parliament. If he manifested his weakness by reappointing to the ministry the old and useless Maurepas, he showed his love of right by removing from it Maupéou and Terray, whom he replaced by Malesherbes and Turgot. Later, he gave the ministry of war to another honest man, the Count of St. Germain, who desired to reorganize the finances and the administration, but executed his reforms ill. The Count of Vergennes, who was given the portfolio of foreign affairs, had filled several embassies with distinction. He was a laborious man, and very conversant with the affairs of his department, but lacked firmness of character.

Malesherbes and Turgot (1774-1776). — Lamoignon de Malesherbes, one of the most admirable men of the eighteenth century, had long been president of the Court of Aids and supervisor of publications. He had always urgently advocated economical administration and favored the spirit of reform. This line of conduct had gained him great popularity among men of letters, when the king appointed him to the position of minister of his household.

Turgot, a man of the greatest talent, was possessed of as much virtue as learning. As intendant of Limoges since 1761 he had suppressed the *corvées*, opened roads, and made popular the use of potatoes; and by wise and generous measures he had saved this poor province from actual

famine. From the moment of his entrance upon his ministry (1774) he urged upon the king, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no borrowing." Without recurring to these now familiar expedients, he found means within twenty months to pay off more than 100,000,000 of debts. He proposed great reforms: the gradual introduction of a complete system of local self-government, the abolition of the *corvée*, the imposition of a land tax upon the nobility and clergy; the amelioration of the condition of curés and vicars, and the suppression of the greater part of the monasteries; the equalization of the tax by means of a land survey, liberty of conscience, and the recall of the Protestants; redemption of feudal revenues; a single code; a uniform system of weights and measures for the whole kingdom; the suppression of wardenships and masterships, which impeded industry; freedom of thought as well as of commerce and industry; finally, he interested himself in moral as well as in material needs, forming a vast plan of public instruction which should shed light in every direction.

Reforms of Turgot; Opposition of the Privileged Classes.

— These reforms would have been neither more nor less than a revolution; the threatened interests made a sort of war upon the minister; he could only proceed slowly and partially. He made a beginning by authorizing the free circulation of grain and flour throughout the kingdom. His enemies hastened to say that exportation would soon be allowed; that it was already, in fact. The people were excited: they were made to fear a famine. Insurrections broke out in the country districts. It became necessary to use force (1775).

There was a more violent outburst against Turgot when he induced the king to adopt the idea of replacing the *corvée* by a tax which should be paid by the landowners. Even the Parliament, its interests being affected, entered into the struggle, for the defence of an obnoxious abuse, against the reforming minister. It registered the edict only under compulsion (1776). The abolition of wardenships and masterships, that is to say, such freeing of industry as he had desired to effect in the case of commerce, increased the number of his enemies.

Weakness of the King. — The principal minister, Maurepas, secretly undermined Turgot's influence with the king; the queen attacked a comptroller-general who talked con-

stantly of economy : Louis XVI., in spite of his good intentions, began to be weary of the mental strain which Turgot caused him by holding up to his view vast designs which were beyond his capacity. The king worked at the locksmith's trade, designed maps, or passed whole days in hunting. When the Emperor Joseph II. came to France in 1777, he learned with astonishment that his brother-in-law, far from having visited his cities and provinces, had not even seen the Invalides or the École Militaire. Royalty had little by little retired from the centre of national life, and become isolated in the solemn idleness of Versailles.

Discharge of Turgot (1776) ; Suppression of his Reforms. — Malesherbes was the first to give way ; he sent in his resignation. Turgot, a stronger character, awaited his dismissal ; he would not abandon a position in which he could do good, until he was driven from it. In May, 1776, he received orders to resign the ministry, and wrote to the king, "My only desire is that you shall always be able to believe that I have been mistaken, and that I have warned you of fancied dangers. I hope that time will not justify my fears, and that your reign may be as happy and as peaceful as your people have expected from your principles of justice and benevolence."

Four months had scarcely passed before the king had yielded to the privileged classes the re-establishment of the *corvée* and of mastership in trades. Turgot and Malesherbes were succeeded by incompetent men. Maurepas, a silly old man, feared the men who troubled his peace of mind by showing him the danger and by trying to overcome it.

Necker (1776-1781). — Meantime the American war was about to begin. In order to face the additional expenses, with a budget in arrears, there was need of a capable man. In this emergency a Genevese banker named Necker, who had a great reputation as a financier, was called upon. As he was a Protestant and a foreigner, he received only the title of director of the finances (October, 1776). His mind had not the breadth and force of Turgot's ; he believed that the disease of which France was dying could be cured by partial expedients and reforms. Still, he was influenced by the most generous feelings : he earnestly desired the public good. For five years he acquitted himself with honor in a position which was rendered difficult by the petty and

jealous character of Maurepas, the indolence of the king, and the greed of the courtiers. He was obliged to diminish the deficit, and to provide for the costs of the American war and the enormous expenses of an over-numerous court. He succeeded in this without increasing taxation, without greatly economizing in the court expenses, but by a reduction in the costs of collection, by a thousand little useful reforms, and by borrowing 490,000,000. This was deferring the difficulty, not solving it, and the chasm continued to widen. He relied upon peace, upon the future, to fill it.

Necker fell two years before the conclusion of the peace. The occasion of his fall was his famous *Compte rendu*, or report on the state of the finances, published in 1781, which made so great a noise, and yet was very far from complete. There was no mention made in it of the loans, nor of the expenses of the war. In it the receipts appeared to be 10,000,000 more than the expenditures. The public received this publication with immense applause. The capitalists lent the minister 236,000,000 livres. But the court was vexed at this appeal to public opinion. If daylight was let in upon the financial administration, what would become of the pensions and the customary robbery? Maurepas gave the signal for the attack, and the war which had been so successful against Turgot recommenced against his successor. Parliament rose against the edict for the re-establishment of the provincial assemblies; the courtiers with one voice decried the minister, who was ruining them by introducing order into the finances. Louis XVI. again yielded to this clamor of the court; and when Necker, his patience exhausted, tendered him his resignation, he accepted it (May, 1781). For the real public this was a calamity, and was so regarded. Besides his financial reforms, some honorable acts had marked his administration; he had caused the serfs of the royal domain to be set free; destroyed the right of pursuit, which gave the lord all the property acquired in a foreign country by his fugitive serf; and abolished the "preliminary question" by torture.

The American War (1778-1783); La Fayette.—The Seven Years' War, so favorable politically to England, had raised her debt to £133,000,000, which demanded an annual interest of £5,000,000. The mother country thought of unloading upon her colonies a portion of this heavy burden. But the colonists, invoking the great principle of the English constitution

that no one is bound to submit to taxes which have not been voted by his representatives, offered armed resistance, and war broke out (1775). The insurrection extended to all the provinces; the following year their deputies, assembled in general congress at Philadelphia, published their Declaration of Independence.

France hailed with enthusiasm a revolution in which she recognized the principles of French philosophy. The three American envoys to Paris, Arthur Lee, Silas Deane, and particularly the aged Franklin, were the objects of a perpetual ovation. The young nobility, carried away by the philosophical ideas of the time, and filled with a desire to wipe out the disgrace of the Seven Years' War, asked permission, in great numbers, to set out for America. The Marquis de la Fayette, scarcely twenty years old, himself fitted out a vessel which he loaded with arms. The government, however, feared a rupture with England. Vergennes contented himself at first with sending indirect assistance in the shape of arms, money, and ammunition, which Beaumarchais undertook to deliver. Louis XVI. did not like war, above all he did not wish to seem to be the aggressor, and perhaps feared the consequences of embarking France in a contest of liberty against monarchy. Yet he allowed himself to be led on, and in February, 1778, he signed a commercial treaty with the United States, to which was to be added an alliance offensive and defensive if England should declare war against France. The English ambassador was immediately recalled.

D'Orvilliers, D'Estaing, and De Guichen. — Happily France had passed through the hands of Choiseul, who had restored her navy. A fleet set sail for America (1778), under Count d'Estaing; another was formed at Brest, to fight in the European seas; and an army was prepared to make a descent upon England. Count d'Orvilliers left Brest with thirty-two ships, and fought an indecisive battle off Ouessant against Admiral Keppel (July). Count d'Estaing would have gained a brilliant victory over Admiral Howe, but his fleet was scattered by a storm. Bouillé, however, took Dominica.

The policy of Choiseul, who had renewed the alliance of France with Spain, now bore fruit. She declared war against England, and united her navy to that of France (1779). Count d'Orvilliers, with sixty-six ships of the line,

sailed for Plymouth; but a storm scattered his fleet. D'Estaing captured Grenada. The English admiral Rodney, on the other hand, defeated a Spanish fleet, reprovisioned Gibraltar, which had been besieged by a French and Spanish army, and fought in the Antilles three indecisive battles with Count de Guichen. Guichen, in his turn, in Europe, carried off an English convoy of sixty ships, with booty amounting to 50,000,000 francs.

The Armed Neutrality. — A repulse of Count d'Estaing before Savannah compromised for a moment the American cause. But a vast coalition was forming against the maritime despotism of England. In order to prevent Spain from receiving naval supplies from the northern countries, the English stopped and examined neutral vessels. After much damage to neutral commerce, Catharine II. proclaimed (1780) the freedom of vessels sailing under neutral flags, provided articles contraband of war were not protected by them; to sustain this principle, she proposed a plan of armed neutrality which was successively adopted by Sweden and Denmark, Prussia and Austria, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, and Holland. England, greatly irritated, immediately declared war against Holland, the weakest and most vulnerable of the neutral powers; and Rodney attacked St. Eustatius, one of its colonies.

Naval Achievements. — The year 1781 was, for France, the most successful year of the war. Count de Grasse won a series of brilliant victories. In October, 1781, Washington and Rochambeau forced General Cornwallis to surrender at Yorktown, with seven thousand men, six ships of war, and fifty merchant vessels. This victory decided American independence. At the same time the Marquis de Bouillé took St. Eustatius from the English; the Duke of Crillon took Minorca, and Suffren, one of the greatest of French seamen, sent to the East Indies to save the Dutch colonies, won in those regions four naval victories (1782). He was already concerting with Hyder-Ali, sultan of Mysore, great plans for the destruction of the English rule in the Eastern Continent, when the conclusion of peace interrupted him.

In the Antilles the English retained but one island of any importance, that of Jamaica; De Grasse tried to take it from them in 1782, but, attacked by superior forces under the command of Rodney, he was defeated and captured:

there were only three men on board his ship who were not wounded.

Siege of Gibraltar.—The skilful defence of Gibraltar by Sir G. Elliot against the combined forces of France and Spain was another check. Twenty thousand men and forty ships blockaded the place, two hundred cannons on the land side and ten floating batteries kept up an incessant fire upon it. The place, attacked as no other had ever been before, was soon reduced to extremity. In vain it had thrown six hundred red-hot balls at the floating batteries; when at last one of them succeeded, and started a conflagration which resulted in the dispersion of the batteries. Twelve thousand men perished in this siege, and Gibraltar remained an English possession.

Treaty of Versailles (1783).—Meanwhile England had lost her reputation for being invincible upon the seas, suffered prodigiously in her commerce, and added 2,500,000,000 francs (£116,000,000) to her debt. The Whigs, coming into office, caused proposals of peace to be conveyed to the cabinet of Versailles. France had spent 1,400,000,000; but she had at least obtained a great and noble result,—the independence of the United States. The peace, signed in September, 1783, was honorable to France, which caused Minorca to be restored to Spain, and obtained for itself the restitution of Chandernagore, Pondicherry, etc., in the Indies, Tobago and St. Lucia in the Antilles; the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, with the right of fishing on Newfoundland; and Goree and Senegal in Africa.

A treaty of commerce between France and England was signed in 1786 which substituted, in place of the existing prohibitions, an *ad valorem* duty upon merchandise common to the two countries. This treaty was the first step taken by England towards free trade. A treaty of commerce with Russia in 1787 opened that country to France. France also supported Sweden and Bavaria against the ambition of the great powers. Her diplomacy was as successful as her arms.

Progress of the Sciences.—Meantime the movement which ruled the age continued its course, and influenced even the arts. Remarkable public works were begun. New sciences were established; all sciences were striving for development and being popularized. Lavoisier decomposed water, thus transforming chemistry (1775). The abbé de L'Épée

founded his institution for deaf-mutes (1778); Valentin Haüy, the institution for the blind (1784); while Pinel showed that the insane were not dangerous creatures whom it was necessary to chain, but patients who could be cured. Turgot established a chair of hydrodynamics. In 1778 a chair of mineralogy was established, and the Royal Society of Medicine was founded; in 1780 the veterinary school at Alfort was established; in 1788 the School of Mines; in 1787, in the Academy of Sciences, sections of natural history, agriculture, mineralogy, and physics were instituted. Parmentier increased the alimentary resources of the people by popularizing the use of potatoes (1779), and Daubenton introduced into France the Spanish breed of merino sheep. It was in these years that Galvani of Bologna exhibited (1791) the singular phenomena of electricity to which his name has been given, and Volta of Como invented (1794) the pile, which has opened a new career to chemistry. Finally, in 1789, Laurent de Jussieu proclaimed, for botanical classification, the principle of the subordination of characters, which, generalized by Cuvier, gave a new life to natural sciences. At the same time, bold and scientific navigators, the Englishmen Wallis and Cook, the Frenchmen Bougainville and La Pérouse, finishing the work of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, completed the exploration of the globe, and at the price of a thousand dangers opened safe routes to commerce. Thus the sciences, properly speaking, were tending to use and practice, while the moral sciences were tending to reforms. This involuntary agreement announced the approach of a new era.

Death of Voltaire and Rousseau (1778). — The press became more active and more audacious. Voltaire, then eighty-four years old, returned to Paris and stopped at the hôtel of the Marquis de Villette, at the corner of the quay which ever since has been known as the Quai Voltaire. An immense crowd gathered under the windows and in the halls. He went to the French Academy, which came forward to meet him, a thing it never did even for sovereigns. Then he went to the Comédie-Française, where, at the first representation of his *Irène*, he received the most enthusiastic homage. He survived this triumph only two months; and died in May, 1778: his body was transferred to the Pantheon in 1791.

Rousseau, his rival in glory and influence, soon followed

him (July), and died, as he had lived, alone, in the retreat provided for him at Ermenonville by the Marquis of Girardin. Montesquieu had died in 1755. Of the four great writers of the century, Buffon alone survived; he did not pass away until 1788, at the age of eighty-one. He had just written (1778) another magnificent work, his *Époques de la Nature*, one of the books which took strongest hold upon the imagination of the men of that time. Very far from Voltaire and Rousseau, yet inheriting the spirit of both, Beaumarchais, the author of the *Mariage de Figaro* (1784), continued the war against the prejudices of birth, and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, in his *Études* (1784), but especially his *Paul and Virginia*, tried to revive the taste for nature, simple manners, and true sentiment.

Invention of the Air-Balloon (1784). — The desire to become acquainted with and cut new paths was so great that it seemed as though the horizon of human knowledge had no longer any limits. Franklin had just “brought down the thunder from the clouds,” and Giroud de Villette, Pilâtre de Rozier, and D’Arlande made (1783) the first ascension in a fire-balloon, while two years after, Blanchard passed, in a balloon, from Dover to Calais.

Animal Magnetism; Illuminism; Freemasonry. — Side by side with the aerostats, the mysteries and the falsehoods of magnetism: Cagliostro and Mesmer; the one, an Italian adventurer, claimed to possess the true secrets of chemistry, as discovered by the priests of Egypt and India; the other, a German adventurer, came to Paris to give his famous séances (1779). In a rich apartment, dimly lighted, and so furnished as to act upon the imagination and the senses, the sick or the curious assembled around the magnetic trough: some soon fell into convulsions; the contagion seized the rest. It was vaunted as a remedy for everything.

Certain minds became in a measure unbalanced. St. Martin published the incomprehensible reveries of the *Philosophe inconnu*; the extraordinary book of Swedenborg was introduced and eagerly devoured. Beneath politics and science, in shade and in silence, the freemasons worked; a vast and ancient society of men of all ranks and all countries, which counted princes among its initiated, and, under its strange and somewhat childish rites, concealed and propagated liberal ideas.



MARIE-ANTOINETTE.



Queen Marie Antoinette. — Amid the ferment of thought public opinion gained in power. The court no longer gave the tone and direction to French society. Louis XVI. could not keep up the tradition of Louis XIV., and the beautiful and gracious Marie Antoinette had made many enemies at court by her too exclusive friendships, and among the public by too great a disregard of rules of etiquette and royal conventionalities. She neglected Versailles for Trianon, and thought that a queen of France could then live to please herself. Such were the habits of the house of Austria, but it had not been so with the house of Bourbon. Consequently those scandals began which later turned to hatred, and finally burst out in such a terrible manner against her.

An unfortunate event, as early as the year 1784, showed the feeling of the public in regard to her. The cardinal of Rohan was then the scandal of the Church. When ambassador at Vienna he had compromised his character of priest and representative of France by frivolous conduct and frightful expenditures. Scorned by the king, and particularly by the queen, he was in complete disgrace. An intriguing woman, the Countess of Lamotte, made him believe that she was the confidante of Marie Antoinette, and that that princess was disposed to be favorable to him. By means of forged letters and a pretended secret interview she completely duped the cardinal. Then she persuaded him that the queen charged him to purchase secretly for her a certain necklace of great price. He went to see the merchants, showed them the letters, and obtained possession of the jewel, from which the countess at once realized the desired profit. Some time after, the jewellers, uneasy at not being paid, wrote to the queen. Everything was at once disclosed. The cardinal was sent to the Bastille. Parliament set him at liberty, regarding him as only a dupe, and condemned the countess. The affair made the greatest commotion, and though the queen had had nothing to do with it, her reputation suffered greatly from having her name connected with such a scandal. After the retirement of Necker, Marie Antoinette began to take an active interest in the affairs of the government, and acquired a great ascendancy over the king. But not having the administrative genius of her mother, Maria Theresa, though she desired influence, she did not wish for the cares of business; and as she gave the latter only a partial attention, she could not

give her influence an enlightened direction. It was she who caused Calonne to be appointed comptroller-general in 1783.

Calonne (1783–1787). — Calonne had some administrative ability and despatched business with great ease; but he was a spendthrift. His financial principles were thus stated by himself: "A man who wishes to borrow must appear to be rich, and in order to appear rich it is necessary to make a display by expenditure. Economy is doubly fatal: it warns the capitalists not to lend to a treasury involved in debt; it causes the arts to languish, while prodigality invigorates them." The courtiers and the women were delighted with this amiable minister. The king, in his indolence, found comfort in a minister whom nothing embarrassed. This pleasant exterior covered 500,000,000 fr. borrowed in three years, and that in time of peace. The time came, however, to disclose everything to the king. Then the spendthrift became a reformer. Calonne conceived a plan in which all the ideas of all his predecessors were combined: he proposed to subject the privileged classes to a tax and the payment of a subsidy based on land, to diminish the *taille*; to decree the freedom of the grain trade, etc.

The Notables (1787). — Thus the fatal words, *privileges*, *abuses*, were continually repeated. The government, in order to effect these reforms, would need to have recourse to the nation. But the name of the States-General excited alarm; the court did not venture to do more than call an assembly of the Notables. The Notables assembled on February 12, 1787. They numbered one hundred and forty-four members, of whom twenty-seven were regarded as representatives of the Third Estate; in reality there were only six or seven plebeians. Calonne set before them his plans, which were received with general approbation. But the Notables were less interested in looking into the finances than in avoiding the land-tax. The discussion became very earnest. Calonne grew angry; the king also; the Notables were ordered to deliberate upon the form and not the principle of the tax. But the enemies of Calonne finally carried the day, and Louis exiled him to Lorraine.

Ministry of Brienne (1787–1788). — One of those most active against Calonne had been Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse; brilliant, ambitious, but a prelate without morality and perhaps without faith, whom the pious Louis XVI. had

long kept out of the ministry. He finally appointed him prime minister; Brienne gained credit among the Notables by his plans of economy. This assembly, however, adjourned in a very short time (May 25). The Notables had accomplished nothing; but in their midst the words "States-General," and even "National Assembly," had been uttered.

Brienne, having got rid of the Notables, now found himself face to face with the Parliament. The edict with regard to the provincial assemblies was registered without difficulty; but an animated discussion arose on the subjects of the stamp-tax and the land-tax. The king held a *lit de justice* (i.e., appeared in the Parliament), and had the last two edicts registered. The Parliament protested. The king banished it to Troyes. Few men were now more unpopular than Brienne; in the first place he was known to be on good terms with the queen, who was already boldly attacked by pamphlets. Brienne was not even supported by his order. The assembly of the clergy refused him a miserable subsidy of 1,800,000 livres. Abroad, the ministry was not more fortunate. It left the intrigues of England and the arms of the king of Prussia to overturn the republican government of the Netherlands.

But now a reconciliation was accomplished between the government and Parliament. Brienne had won over a majority of the members of Parliament. He brought in an edict for a loan of 420,000,000, to be realized in five years. In exchange, he promised the convocation of the States-General before the end of that period, having resolved in advance not to keep his promise. There were violent protests, but Louis XVI. ordered the edict registered. Two members who opposed were arrested. The Parliament was thrown into commotion by this attack upon individual liberty in the person of two of its members. D'Espréménil drew up, in the name of the Parliament, an act in which was summed up what were called the fundamental laws of the monarchy; another councillor proposed still further protest. By the king's order, the two were arrested in full session of Parliament, and sent to prison.

The government profited by this stroke; the Parliament, summoned to Versailles, was obliged to verify several edicts which deprived it of the power of registration, and transferred the same to a *plenary court*, which was a sort of council of State composed of those who were devoted to the king,

and which abridged the jurisdiction of the Parliament. Resistance was everywhere organized, and disturbances took place in Brittany, in Béarn, and in ten other provinces, and an insurrection in Grenoble. To raise money, Brienne seized the invalid pension fund and the proceeds of several benevolent lotteries; but in August, 1788, he was obliged to declare that the payments of the State should be made partly in specie, partly in treasury notes. This was a fatal blow to Brienne. He was obliged to give up his place to Necker (August 23).

Second Ministry of Necker (1788-1789). — The return of Necker called forth acclamations of joy; the departure of Brienne caused scenes of disorder and unhappily of bloodshed. This first bloodshed in Paris made a deep impression. However, confidence revived, thanks to Necker. In one day the public securities rose thirty per cent. But there were in the treasury only five hundred thousand livres, while the needs of the State were urgent and considerable. It was too late to save the country by minor expedients. An appeal to the nation became indispensable. Brienne had promised to convoke the States-General in 1789; Necker confirmed the engagement.

Convocation of the States-General. — The meeting of the States became the one thought of France. Under what form should they assemble? The Third Estate had become a considerable order, on account of its wealth, its intelligence, its activity, and the conspicuous positions held by its chief men in the government and in the administration of the country. Respect for the nobility was greatly diminished. Now in order that the Third Estate should occupy the position it deserved, it was necessary at least to double the number of its members, and establish individual vote, in place of vote by orders. This view was sustained by Necker and by all liberal men. But the nobility resisted. Necker wished to decide the question in an assembly of Notables, but they refused to make any change in the ancient form. Then he resolved to settle one part of the difficulty himself. A decree of the council, establishing double representation, without deciding anything as to individual vote, convoked the States at Versailles for the first of May, 1789.

FIFTEENTH PERIOD.

CONSTITUTIONAL FRANCE, SINCE 1789.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(1789-1791 A.D.)

Necessity of a Constitution. — It had been long said that the Third Estate paid in money, the nobility in blood, and the clergy in prayers. Now, the clergy of the court and the salon prayed but little, and the nobility no longer composed the entire army; but the Third Estate had remained faithful to its functions in the State: it was always paying, and more each year. It was inevitable that the day should come when, weary of paying, it would demand a reckoning. That day is called the Revolution of 1789.

The abbé Siéyès, in a celebrated pamphlet, discussing questions which every one was then asking, said, "What is the Third Estate? The nation. What is it now? Nothing. What ought it to be? Everything." He estimated the number of the nobility of all ages and both sexes to be less than one hundred and ten thousand, and the clergy was not more numerous.

The court, especially the queen, the Count of Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, were desirous that the States-General should have charge of financial matters only, and that when the deficit was made up and the debts paid, the deputies should be sent home. But political reforms were the best precaution to be taken against the recurrence of the deficit.

France suffered, in fact, from two evils, of which one was the result of the other, — a bad financial system and a bad

political system, the deficit and the governmental abuses. In order to remedy the first, three things were necessary, — economy, a less expensive system of collection, a more equitable distribution of taxation ; to remedy the second, a reorganization of the government was needed. Royalty, which had already been transformed so many times, must submit to another change ; for, under its latest form, that of absolute royalty by divine right, it had produced all that the country could expect from it, unity of territory and governmental unity. With the immense development of industry, commerce, science, public spirit, and personal wealth, France now had interests too complex, needs too numerous, to be able to place the control of them all in the hands of a single man. The nation was sufficiently mature to take charge of its own affairs. Unfortunately a people separates itself from its past only at the cost of cruel lacerations.

The Elections ; Mirabeau. — The excitement increased. Clubs were organized everywhere ; among them the Breton Club, out of which was to grow the sinister society of the Jacobins. Divisions existed in the very midst of the privileged orders. The clergy had its democracy, the country curates ; a portion of the great lords, La Fayette, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the counts of Montmorency and Lally-Tollendal, the Viscount de Noailles, etc., were favorable to reforms.

In Provence the nobles protested against the decision of the king's council. An illustrious deserter of their cause, the Count of Mirabeau, made a violent attack upon this protest. Repelled by the nobles, who would not allow him to take his seat among them, he went through the province, among the populace, who were dazzled by the first brilliancy of his eloquence, and calmed by his influence the disturbances which had burst out at Aix and Marseilles. His youth had been passed in dissipation ; but he had suffered much from the harsh injustice of his father and also of the government, which had issued against him seventeen *lettres de cachet*. He had been imprisoned and condemned to death. His was a stained name, but he possessed a superior mind. His voice was to become the voice of the Revolution itself.

Demands of the Cahiers. — The following are the demands which, being found in almost all the cahiers, or instructions of the deputies, were not subject to any discussion.

1. Political: that sovereignty, emanating from the people, should be exercised only by the agreement of the national representatives with the hereditary chief of the State; the urgency of establishing a constitution for France; the exclusive right of the States-General to make the laws, which, before being promulgated, should obtain the royal sanction, to control public expenses, and to vote taxes; the abolition of financial immunities and personal privileges of the clergy and the nobility; the suppression of the last remnants of serfdom; the admissibility of all citizens to public employment; the responsibility of the agents of executive power.

2. Moral: liberty of worship and of the press; education of poor and abandoned children by the State.

3. Judicial: uniformity of legislation and of jurisprudence; the suppression of exceptional jurisdictions; the publicity of debates; the amelioration of penal laws; the reform of procedure.

4. Administrative: the creation of provincial assemblies; unity of weights and measures; a re-division of the kingdom according to population and revenue.

5. Economic: liberty of industries; the suppression of internal customs-duties; the replacing of the various taxes by a real estate and personal tax which would reach the products, but never the capital. Such were "the principles of '89."

Opening of the States-General (May 5, 1789). — On the 2d of May all the deputies assembled at Versailles, and were presented to the king. On the 4th they repaired in solemn procession to the church of St. Louis.

May 5th, the States convened in the Salle des Menus. The king was on the throne, surrounded by the princes of the blood: the court stood on the steps. The rest of the hall was occupied by the three orders; on the right of the throne sat the clergy, who numbered 291 members, of whom 48 were archbishops or bishops, 35 abbés or canons, 204 curates, and three monks; on the left the nobility, comprising 270 members, as follows: one prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans, 240 gentlemen, and 28 magistrates of the superior courts; last of all, at the lower end, on lower seats, the Third Estate, composed of 584 members, of whom 12 were gentlemen, two priests, 18 mayors or consuls of large cities, 162 magistrates of *bailliages* or *sénéchaussés*, 212

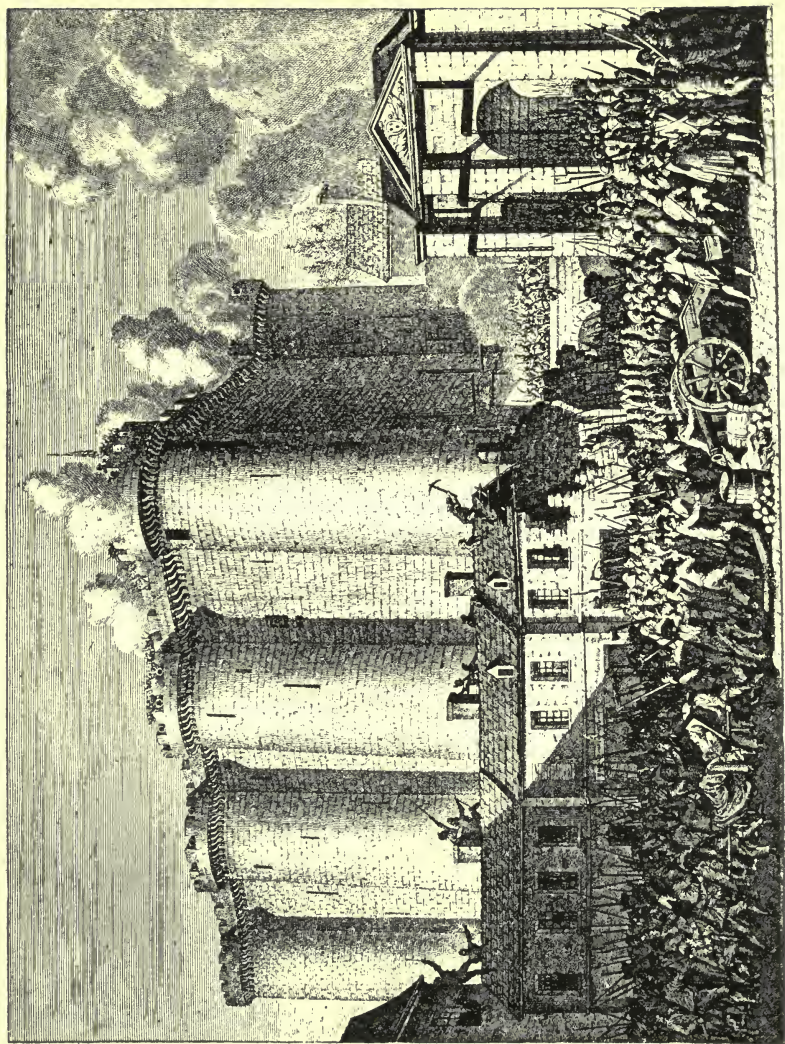
lawyers, 16 physicians, 162 merchants or landowners and farmers.

The king expressed in a few noble words his wishes for the prosperity of the nation, and urged the States to work for it without allowing themselves to be carried away by the exaggerated desire for innovations. He was followed by the keeper of the seals, Barentin, and by the director-general of finances, Necker, who wearied the deputies with his long speech. Two passages of his discourse excited deep interest; the one in which he made the acknowledgment of an annual deficit of 56,000,000, and 260,000,000 of anticipated receipts, and the other in which he declared that the king demanded that the States should aid him in establishing the prosperity of the kingdom upon solid foundations.

The Deputies of the Third Estate declare themselves a National Constituent Assembly (June 17, 1789).—In the discussion which took place on the subject of the first question at issue, the verification of the powers of the deputies, the Third Estate declared that this verification should be made in common with the nobility and clergy, while the latter contended that each order should verify separately the credentials of its members. Upon the manner in which this question should be discussed depended the mode of deliberation which should be adopted for others, and the question between vote by orders and vote by members. Now if the vote was to be taken by orders, the majority would be assured to the clergy and nobility; if by members, it would be secured to the deputies of the Third Estate.

For five weeks the deputies of the Third Estate, masters of the common hall of session, employed all their energies in trying to induce the two higher orders to unite with them. At length a large number of *curés* joined them. Finally, on June 17, on motion of Abbé Siéyès, the commons resolved themselves into a national assembly, "inasmuch as this assembly is already composed of representatives sent directly by at least ninety-six hundredths of the nation." Later it added to its title the word "constituent."

The Tennis Court Oath (June 20).—This declaration, which opened the Revolution, brought terror to the court and to the two higher orders. The clergy, by a small majority, decided to join the Assembly (June 19). The court urged the king to take violent measures; announcing a royal sitting for June 22, he had the hall of the sessions



THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE. (Priens.)

guarded by soldiers, under pretext of making preparations. On June 20 Bailly, the president of the Third Estate, finding the door closed, convoked them in a tennis court. There the deputies took a solemn oath not to separate until they had established a constitution for France. The next day, the majority of the clergy having joined the Third Estate, the church of St. Louis was opened, and the Assembly began its deliberations.

Fusion of the Three Orders (June 27). — The royal session was then held, after a double check received by the government. Louis XVI. uttered threatening words; he warned the deputies not to touch the ancient and constitutional rights of the three orders. "If you abandon me," he added, "I will work out the welfare of my people alone." He went out, commanding the orders to retire to their respective halls. The first two obeyed, with the exception of a few members of the clergy; the third remained. The Marquis of Brézé, grand master of ceremonies, came back into the hall and said, "Gentlemen, you have heard the orders of the king." Mirabeau rebuked him for his presumption, and replied: "Go and tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will be sent away only at the point of the bayonet." The Assembly immediately proclaimed the inviolability of its members (June 23). The next day the majority of the clergy, and the day after forty-seven members of the nobility, with the Duke of Orleans at their head, united with the Third Estate. Necker advised the king himself to persuade the two higher orders to join the third. They obeyed, June 27, and were received as though their coming was the lasting pledge of a fraternal union. The Assembly then organized in thirty committees; the deputies of the Third Estate chose all the presidents from among the ecclesiastics and nobles.

The Taking of the Bastille (July 14). — But the court was considering violent measures. Thirty thousand troops, under Marshal Broglie, were concentrated around Paris and Versailles, to protect the Assembly, it was said, and to maintain order. There were some foreign regiments among them; the Swiss and the Royal German, who were in great favor because their fidelity was not doubtful. The French regiments had been influenced by the ideas which were then in circulation, and so much the more as the army itself was burdened by numerous abuses. Paris was disturbed at these

military measures. The focus of the discussion was the garden of the Palais-Royal. A table served as a rostrum. Here all the acts of the Assembly and the court were discussed. The Assembly demanded the removal of the troops, whose presence irritated the people. But instead they were suddenly informed of the dismissal and exile of Necker (July 11). The next day Paris burst forth like a volcano; the Palais-Royal resounded with exclamations of passionate anger; a young man, Camille Desmoulins, boiling with indignation, jumped upon a table, pistol in hand, and harangued the citizens. The leaves of the chestnut trees in the garden were taken for cockades; the crowd seized the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, and bore them about in triumph. At several points it came into collision with the royal troops, and some bloodshed resulted.

During these tumultuous disturbances the Assembly made some efforts for the recall of Necker, which Louis XVI. repelled. At the same time they sent a petition to the king, asking for a withdrawal of the troops. In Paris matters were pushed more rapidly and farther. There was a sort of new municipality formed by the electors, which took the place of the old one in the confidence of the people. The electors were citizens, who, when the election for the deputation of Paris was terminated, had continued to assemble in order to finish the drawing up of their cahiers, and had even obtained a hall in the Hôtel de Ville. Then, without commission, without warrant, and therefore illegally, but with an authority which was obeyed by the whole city, they constituted themselves, July 13, an administrative body. The people cried out for arms, so as to be able to defend themselves against the probable attack of the troops. The electors decreed that a guard should be formed from the middle class, four hundred men from each of the sixty districts. Fifty thousand pikes were made in thirty-six hours; thirty thousand guns, with sabres and cannons, were taken from the Hôtel des Invalides. On the 13th the troops who occupied the Champs-Élysées were withdrawn, and the Parisians were masters of the city. "To the Bastille!" became the general cry. The people rushed thither from all quarters. The governor, De Launay, had only two hundred Swiss or pensioners as a garrison; however, the castle was so strong that the assailants had a struggle of several hours before they were able to take it. They gained an entrance

after having lost nearly a third of their number, one hundred and seventy-one killed and wounded. De Launay was murdered by the populace. Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, and several soldiers, shared the same fate. Their heads were set on pikes and carried through the city. The populace had had a taste of blood, and the Revolution had its first *journée*.

The National Guard; the Tricolor Cockade.—When the Duke of Liancourt informed the king of the storming of the Bastille, “Is this then a revolt?” said he. “No, Sire,” replied the duke; “it is a revolution.” The king went to the Assembly. When he appeared without guards and declared that he and the nation were one, that he confided himself to the National Assembly, that he would consent to the withdrawal of the German troops, and that he would recall Necker to the ministry, he was greeted with great applause, and an immense crowd followed him on his way to Paris. He entered the city in the midst of this crowd armed with guns, pikes, axes, and scythes, and dragging a few pieces of artillery. Bailly, who had just been appointed mayor of Paris, received the king at the gates and delivered to him the keys of the city. “They are the same,” said he, “which were presented to Henry IV. He had reconquered his people, Sire; now it is the people who have reconquered their king.” Louis could even then have regained the hearts of his people, but he was not the man for such an emergency. The revolution continued in his very presence. La Fayette, being appointed general of the citizen-militia, hastened to organize it under the name of National Guard, and gave it for its cockade the two old colors of Paris, red and blue, between which he placed white, the color of the monarchy of France.

Abolition of Privileges (night of the 4th of August).—The excitement had spread through the whole country. In many places the peasants burned the convents and castles so as to destroy the old titles and feudal charters. It became urgently necessary to prevent a second *Jacquerie* by great reforms. The nobility set the example: the Duke of Aiguillon, the Viscount of Noailles, Mathieu de Montmorency, proposed the purchase of their privileges; soon the emulation increased, all privileges were abolished; seignorial rights, rights of jurisdiction, ecclesiastical tithes, personal, provincial, and municipal privileges. The feudal régime was destroyed, and the reign of equality began.

Opposition of the Court; Events of October 5 and 6, 1789.

— One of the first acts of the Assembly was to draw up a declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen, in which were set forth the principles upon which the constitution should be established. Soon those who wished to divide the legislative power between two chambers, as in England, and give the king an unlimited veto, were vanquished. Influence was passing into the hands of men who had determined to go to the extreme of attack, as well as of resistance. Among those about the king, and in spite of him, the plan of resorting to force was resumed. The Flanders regiment was recalled to Versailles. A banquet given to its officers was turned into a royalist demonstration; the ladies distributed white cockades, and the tricolor cockades, it is said, were trodden under foot (October 1).

Meantime Paris was dying of hunger. The winter had been severe, and there had been famine in several provinces. For three months Paris lived one day at a time, receiving to-day the flour for the bread of to-morrow. When the news of the festival at Versailles reached the ears of the famished populace, the slight provocation was sufficient to cause an insurrection. An army of women cried out, "Give us bread," and marched in a body to Versailles, thinking that they would have plenty if they could bring the king to Paris. The men followed; La Fayette, vainly opposing, was himself dragged along by the Parisian army. The multitude reached the courtyard of the château; a struggle with the body-guard took place. The queen was saved only by the devotion of a few of her guards. During an absence of La Fayette the château was forced. The king was obliged to show himself and promise to go to Paris. The queen determined to accompany him. The journey was not without danger for her. La Fayette led her out upon a balcony, and respectfully kissed her hand as a sign of reconciliation between royalty and the revolution; the crowd applauded. A few moments after, the royal family set out in the midst of this tumultuous crowd, which conducted them back as prisoners to the capital (October 5 and 6). The Assembly most unwisely followed, and installed itself first in the archbishop's chapel, and afterwards in the riding-school near the Tuileries. From that moment the Assembly found itself, as well as the king, in the hands of the populace, to whom the success of the expedition to Versailles had been

a fatal revelation that it was possible to substitute force for discussion.

Popular Excesses; the Emigration. — Already culpable excesses had occurred. Those men of blood and destruction had appeared who are always to be found in popular disturbances. After the taking of the Bastile, De Launay and Flesselles had been killed, afterward the minister Foulon and the intendant Bertier; then the king's guards. In the provinces the peasants were not always content with tearing up feudal title deeds, and pulling down towers and drawbridges; they sometimes struck down the lords themselves. Terror filled the court and the château. The most unwise counsellors of the king, the Count of Artois his brother, the princes of Condé and Conti, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, etc., were the first to fly on the day after the storming of the Bastile: many others followed their example. They left the king alone in the midst of the populace, whose anger they had just aroused by bringing against the country the arms of foreigners.

Double Movement which hastened the Revolution. — From October 6, 1789, to September 30, 1791, the day upon which the National Assembly dissolved, France was seized by two contrary movements. On the one hand, the Revolution, begun by almost the whole nation, then guided for a time by the pupils of Montesquieu, who demanded for France only a constitution modelled upon that of England, tended to pass into the hands of popular tribunes, and was becoming each day more democratic. On the other, the court concealed its regrets under cover of a feigned docility, and by the suspicions and fears which its conduct inspired, hastened the advance of the Revolution, which was becoming implacable.

Labors of the Assembly; Political and Civil Reforms. — The National Assembly pursued the course of its labors, pulling down with one hand, building with the other, with an enthusiasm sometimes rash, more often wisely inspired. After having despoiled the absolute monarchy of the right of making laws, establishing taxation, and making peace and war, it reduced the monarch to being only the chief functionary of the State. The dissenting faiths, the press, industry, and commerce were freed from all hindrances. Rights of primogeniture and entails were suppressed; equal division of property among all the children of the deceased

was rendered obligatory; confiscation abolished; civil marriage provided for. Protestants and Jews were admitted to the enjoyment of all civil rights; and the former recovered such portions of their estates as had been incorporated in the domains of the State; the mulattoes of the colonies obtained civil rights. Finally, the Assembly abolished all titles, destroyed the orders of the nobility and clergy, reduced the nobles to the rank of citizens, the priests to that of public functionaries; it established equality of penalties, and diminished the number of cases calling for the penalty of death: it declared all Frenchmen admissible to public employments and to military grades, all subject to taxation in proportion to their ability; and it replaced the old provincial demarcations by the division into departments (January, 1790). There were at first eighty-three of them, about equal in extent, the boundaries and names of which were not derived from any of the old traditions, but from natural features, the rivers and mountains. Each department was divided into districts, the districts into cantons, the cantons into communes or municipalities numbering 44,828.

The National Property; the Assignats.—Mirabeau, by showing that fearful bankruptcy was at the door, caused all citizens to vote unanimously, on the proposition of Necker, for a patriotic sacrifice of one-fourth of their revenues. This was not sufficient. The Assembly, considering the property of the clergy simply in the light of a deposit, decided that such property should revert to the nation. Then the clergy claimed to be proprietors by right of prescription, and in the interest of worship, of the hospitals and the poor. But the clergy having ceased to be a corporation, had lost its quality of proprietor; and the State took possession of the property by right of escheat (November 2, 1789); the domains of the Church were placed at the disposal of the nation, and the minister was authorized to sell them at auction to the amount of 400,000,000, on condition that the State should provide in a suitable manner for the expenses of worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the support of the poor, which was done. The lands of the crown, the property of the émigrés, confiscated later (July, 1792), were also declared to be national property.

To sell all this property, to distribute it among the nation, was a powerful means of attaching the country people

strongly to the Revolution. The State issued paper money having a forced currency which should receive preference in payment for national property. This was the origin of the *assignats*.

Judicial Reforms. — The Assembly had destroyed the parliaments, the seignorial jurisdictions, and those of the royal provosts, baillis, and seneschals, and the court of accounts. But it laid down the fruitful principle of the separation of administrative and judicial powers, and it instituted for the whole kingdom a court of cassation, deciding appeals in the last resort; for each department, a criminal court which was assisted by a jury; for each district, a civil court; for each canton, a judge of the peace and a *bureau of conciliation*; in the principal cities consular courts; and, for the offences of great public functionaries and for crimes against the welfare of the State, a high court of justice (May, 1791). It provided for the framing of a uniform civil code. The magistrates were to be elected for ten years.

Financial Reforms. — The Assembly had abolished the systems of taxation of the old régime, which were so multiplied and so vexatious. But it declared that each citizen should contribute to the public expenses in proportion to his ability, and it decreed a tax upon patents, a personal tax, and a land-tax. It preserved, while simplifying them, the duties on registrations and mortgages, and the stamp-tax. It abolished internal custom-houses, but preserved those on the frontier; and it allowed free importation of all raw materials and articles of food. It established a uniform system of weights and measures.

The Federation (July 14, 1790). — Thus were the desires for the political and social renovation of France realized. Unfortunately, the timidity of some, the impatience of others, and the crimes of a few caused them to fall short of their aim, and the beautiful edifice, prepared by the labors of a whole century, fell to the ground, to rise again, mutilated, only after horrible convulsions.

In the middle of the year 1790 many clouds, and some of them bloody ones, had already appeared on the horizon; but the people still believed in the political success of this great undertaking, and there was a moment of universal confidence and boundless hope at the Feast of the Federation given by the Parisians in the Champs de Mars to the deputies of the army and the departments. The local *fed-*

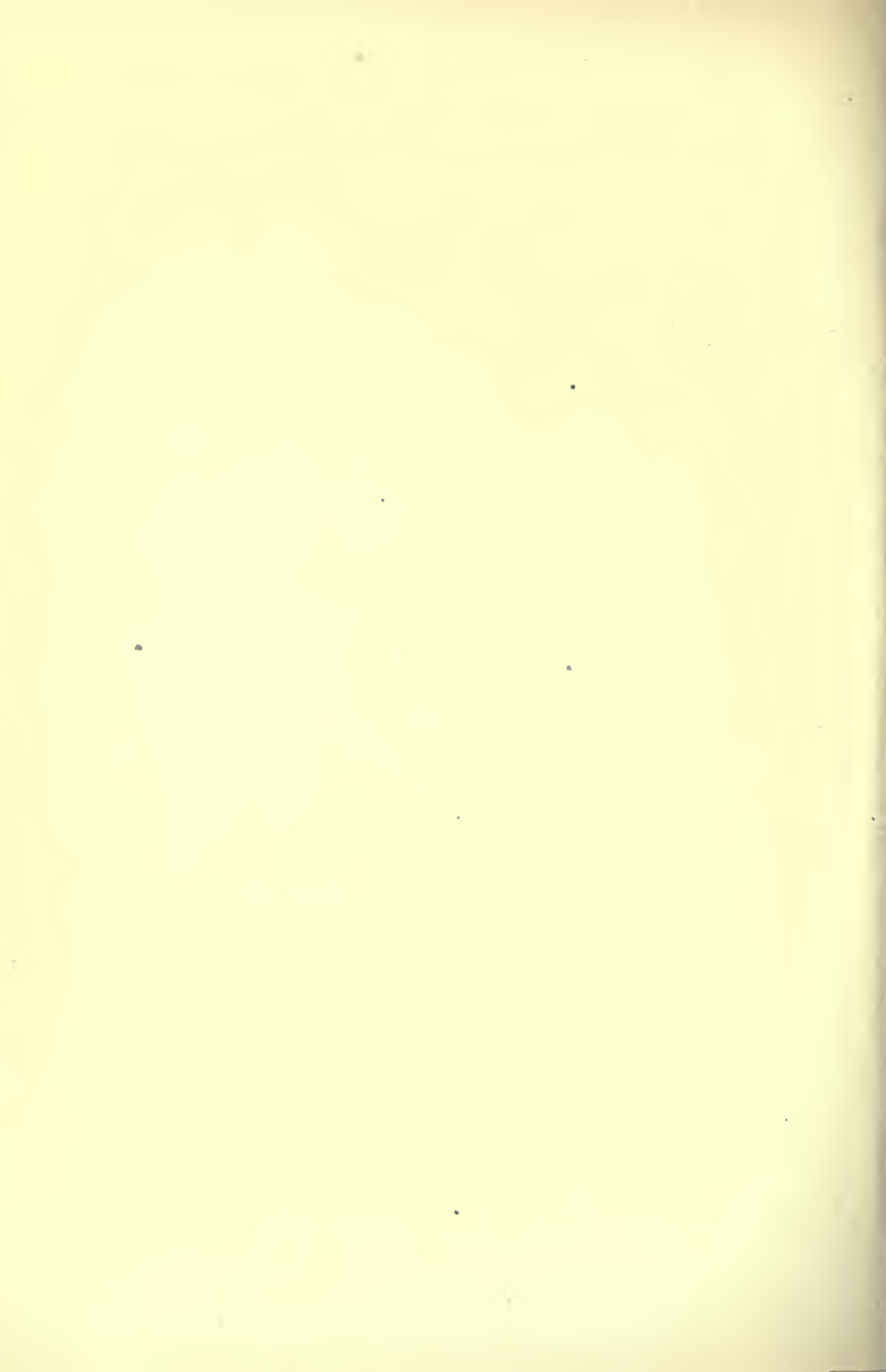
erations, or patriotic unions of citizens and soldiers, sent one hundred thousand representatives to Paris on the 14th of July, 1790. In the midst of the Champs de Mars was erected the altar of the Fatherland; an immense crowd surged over the vast plain; La Fayette, who had been appointed commander of the national guards of the kingdom, was the first to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution, which was repeated by thousands of voices. The king repeated it in his turn in a loud voice. Sincere and unanimous acclamations rent the air. It was the happiest day of the Revolution; the spirit of concord and fraternal devotion filled all hearts.

The Clubs: Jacobins, Cordeliers, etc. — Everywhere debating clubs were formed, all of which tried to influence public opinion; and some of them began to manifest much violence against the clergy, the court, and even the Assembly. The most active of these societies was the Breton Club, established at the convent of the Jacobins, whose name it took later. It was still under the influence of enthusiastic but moderate men; later, Robespierre reigned supreme in it. But there was also formed, at the convent of the Cordeliers, the terrible club directed by Danton. The press spread the flames: Camille Desmoulins, in his journal, *Les Révolutions de Brabant et de Flandre*; the hideous Marat, in *L'Ami du Peuple*. The provinces were as much agitated as Paris; there were disturbances, particularly in the south. The insurrection reached even the army. Necker, seeing his powerlessness, handed in his resignation (September, 1790).

Death of Mirabeau (April 2, 1791). — The National Assembly felt itself morally obliged to interpose its authority in order to put a stop to anarchy. Mirabeau, who was daily acquiring a greater influence in it, began also boldly to demand the repression of the factions. He even approached the court and consulted with the king and queen, for the purpose not of destroying, but of arresting and consolidating the Revolution. He believed himself strong enough, should he be called to the ministry, to restrain both the torrent of popular passions and that of aristocratic passions. Death deprived him of this test of his power. Worn out before he was old by all sorts of excesses, he was still speaking, writing, and working actively when suddenly his strength failed him. As soon as it was known that a serious malady threatened his life, the street of Chaussée-



MIRABEAU.



d'Antin, in which he lived, was crowded with an anxious multitude, who seemed crushed as by a public calamity. He expired the 2d of April, 1791, when not quite forty-two years old. The whole National Assembly, all Paris, indeed, escorted his remains to the Pantheon, where he was buried.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy. — After Mirabeau's death, Louis XVI. no longer heard moderate counsels, nor advice in favor of constitutional rule, which, moreover, was repugnant to all his habits, and of which the queen had a horror. The measures taken by the Assembly relative to the clergy were especially abhorrent to him.

Already the clergy had ceased to be proprietors and to form a separate order in the State; the number of convents had been restricted; the taking of monastic vows had been suspended, and the legal sanction refused to vows previously taken. The Assembly went still further; it reduced the number of archbishoprics and bishoprics from one hundred and thirty-five to eighty-three, one for each department, and decreed that the electors who chose the administrators of the departments and the deputies of the National Assembly should also choose the bishops and curés (July 12, 1791).

This Civil Constitution of the Clergy, to which all the priests were obliged to take oath, disturbed the established ecclesiastical hierarchy. There was to be a Catholicism in France different from that in Rome, at least in respect to discipline, canonical institution, and spiritual jurisdiction. The measure was also politically unwise, as giving opportunity to the adversaries of the new social order "to oppose religious enthusiasm to the enthusiasm for liberty."

A part of the provinces, indeed, turned against the Revolution when the Pope forbade the taking of the oath (1791). A very large majority of the bishops refused to take it; those who took it formed, under the title of the *sworn* or *constitutional priests*, the clergy recognized by the State. There were thus two worships: one public, in churches deserted by the faithful; the other, clandestine, in secret places, which had consequently much the greater spiritual influence. The nobles were already enemies of the Revolution; the priests were now entering into the fight against it.

Opposition of the King. — The king, too, opposed his veto; he did not withdraw it until the expiration of five months. In his own eyes, as well as in those of the court and of

Europe, he was no longer free, and all his strength was gone. The court, however, still counted upon the fidelity of the army, and upon the foreign sovereigns, who were frightened at the sight of this tremendous revolution, which gave to the world such passionate speeches and such fearful examples. Hence came the suggestion of flight and of appeal to the other sovereigns of Europe.

Flight of the King (June 20, 1791). — The Count of Artois and the Prince of Condé, chiefs of the émigrés, were occupied abroad with finding means to deliver Louis XVI.; the former, with the king's consent, undertook negotiations with the emperor Leopold, which resulted in a secret convention. The sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, Piedmont, Spain, and even Switzerland, engaged to station along the frontiers of the kingdom different bodies of soldiery, amounting to one hundred thousand men (conference of Mantua, May, 1791).

Thus Louis XVI. authorized the blockade and invasion of France; but first he wished to be free. He left the Tuileries in the night of the 20th of June with the queen, the dauphin, the princess royal his daughter, and his sister Madame Elizabeth, and the governess of the children, Madame de Tourzel, and proceeded rapidly on the road to Montmédy, along which Bouillé had been ordered to place detachments of troops. But at Sainte-Menehould the king was recognized by the postmaster, Drouet; at Varennes he was stopped by the procureur of the commune and sent back under guard of commissioners sent from Paris. He re-entered the capital in the midst of an immense and silent crowd.

Affair of the Champ de Mars (July 17, 1791). — The king was at first suspended from the exercise of his powers and placed under guard; the constitutionalists of the Feuillant Club, who still ruled the Assembly, declared that if he retracted his oath of allegiance to the constitution, and placed himself at the head of an army to make war against the nation, he should be considered as having abdicated. But already republican ideas had been openly uttered. A petition drawn up in strong language by the Cordeliers and the Jacobins, summoning the Assembly to pronounce the deposition of Louis, was placed upon the altar of the Fatherland in the Champ de Mars to receive signatures. On the 17th of July a considerable crowd assembled and riotous

demonstrations were made. The Assembly ordered the commanding general of the National Guards and the mayor of Paris to disperse the crowd. La Fayette and Bailly marched their troops into the Champ de Mars. Attacked by the mob, Bailly ordered his troops to fire upon them, and several were killed.

The King re-established in his Functions (September 14). — The Assembly, fatigued by its long-continued labors, hastened to finish the constitution. On the 14th of September the king accepted it, and solemnly swore to observe it. The Assembly restored him to his former powers; but could it give back to him the moral power which he had lost, or could he infuse into those about him his desire to live loyally under the new laws?

Constitution of 1791. — This constitution bestowed the legislative power upon a single and permanent assembly, which the king had not the right to dissolve, and which was renewed by general election every two years. This assembly alone had the initiative of laws and the right to make war; it allowed the monarchy, together with the executive power, a suspensory veto. The deputies to the National Assembly, the administrators of the departments, those of the districts, and the judges of the courts, were chosen by secondary elections. Suffrage was given to citizens twenty-five years of age, entered upon the rolls of the National Guard, who had lived one year in the canton, and paid a direct tax equal to the local value of three days' work.

The constitution of 1791, with its two millions of voters, was odious to the court and to Europe generally, as being too revolutionary; by those holding republican opinions it was considered too aristocratic.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly (September 30, 1791). — The Constituent Assembly concluded its career by proclaiming a general amnesty, and making efforts to recall the émigrés to their country. It has a right, in spite of its errors, to the gratitude of the nation; for if its political reforms have perished, almost all its civil reforms have survived.

The Constituent Assembly had, upon motion of Robespierre, forbidden the re-election of its members; a disinterested but unwise measure, which would deprive the new assembly of the experience which the members of the Constituent had so dearly bought.

CHAPTER LX.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

(1791-1792 A.D.)

The Legislative Assembly. — The Legislative Assembly began its sessions on October 1, 1791, and ended them on September 21, 1792. It formed a stage of transition from the limited monarchy of the Constitutionals to the dictatorship of the Montagnards. Its leaders, the Girondists,¹ Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, labored, indeed, for the overthrow of royalty, but left to the extreme parties the initiation of the republic.

The Non-juring Priests and the Émigrés. — Three great dangers threatened the Revolution, — the non-juring priests; the émigrés, who had made Brussels, Worms, and Coblenz centres of intrigues against the country; and the foreign powers, who openly expressed their intention to re-establish Louis XVI. in his rights, by the famous declaration of Pillnitz, signed by the king of Prussia and the emperor Leopold (August 27, 1791). The Legislative Assembly ordered that every non-juring priest should be deprived of his salary, and that the émigrés who did not return within a fixed time should be declared conspirators, and the revenues from their property should be collected for the benefit of the nation, “but without detriment to the claims of their wives, their children, or their lawful creditors.” Laws of proscription had begun.

Declaration to the Foreign Powers. — To the foreign powers the Assembly, while professing its preference for peace, declared “that if the princes of Germany continued to favor preparations directed against France, the French would carry into their lands not fire and sword, but liberty.

¹ The Girondists were so named because among them, and distinguished for their great eloquence, were the deputies from the department of the Gironde, Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné. The fanatical republicans were called Montagnards because they were seated in the Assembly on the upper benches on the left side. The Feuillants, or constitutional royalists, were seated on the (presiding officer's) right.

It was for them to estimate what would be the consequences of this awakening of the nations" (November 29, 1791). The king transmitted to the foreign powers requests to withdraw their troops from the French frontiers, but they persisted. Thus the kings formed a coalition against France, and began a frightful war of twenty-three years.

The Girondist Ministry (March, 1792). — At the approach of the war, Louis XVI. was obliged to call the Girondists to the ministry; Servan was made minister of war; Dumouriez, a very able but not wholly trustworthy man, minister of foreign affairs. The portfolio of the interior was bestowed upon the honest Roland, whose wife has won a place among famous names of the Revolution.

First Reverses; Events of June 20, 1792. — War was solemnly declared on April 20, 1792, by Louis XVI. against the emperor. Dumouriez wished to take the offensive. He counted upon an easy conquest of the Southern Netherlands, which had recently been in revolt against the house of Austria. But the beginning was unfortunate; for there was no confidence between the soldiers and the officers, the former continually suspecting the latter of treason. There was great consternation in Paris; the Assembly, declaring that the country was in danger, voted the establishment of a camp of twenty thousand men near the capital, and pronounced the penalty of transportation against the non-juring priests. The king refused to sanction this last measure, and dismissed the Girondist ministers. This moment was the last at which Louis could still have saved his crown by resolutely placing himself at the head of the Revolution. Far from doing this, he sent a secret agent in all haste to the coalitionists. This mission was not known, but the most violent attacks upon royalty were spread among the people by the thousand voices of the press, particularly by Marat's journal. The populace did not long resist this appeal.

On the 20th of June, the populace, armed with pikes, advanced upon the Assembly, which made the mistake of opening its doors to them and allowing them to file before it, singing the famous *Ça ira*, with cries of *Vive la nation!* Thence this mob marched to the Tuileries, burst into the palace, and summoned Louis XVI. to sanction its decrees. The king allowed the *bonnet rouge* to be put upon his head. The populace, satisfied at this, retired. This fatal day

inaugurated the Reign of Terror. Soon after, La Fayette, who had commanded one of the armies on the frontier, was proscribed and forced to leave France. His flight announced the triumph of the republicans.

Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick; Events of August 10, 1792. — Meanwhile all France was in commotion; the federates of the departments were hastening up to form the camp near Paris. The leaders of the Cordeliers and the Jacobins, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, took advantage of their presence to make a final attack on royalty. Another imprudence on the part of the allies was of service to these leaders at this juncture. On the 26th of July, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, general of the Prussian army, had published a manifesto announcing that he was coming, in the name of the kings, to restore Louis XVI. to power, and violently threatened all who opposed him. The challenge was accepted; the mob (August 9) demanded the deposition of the king, and the next morning, well armed, with several sections of the National Guard, surrounded the Tuileries. The king, protected by his Swiss, and by some of the nobles and National Guards, could have defended himself; but the National Guards passed over to the side of the people, and the king decided to take refuge in the midst of the Assembly. He succeeded in reaching it with his whole family, but not without great peril: refuge was given him in the reporters' gallery. Meanwhile contradictory orders paralyzed the enthusiasm of the Swiss and of the nobles, who remained in the château, which after a short and bloody fight was entered and sacked. Its defenders were murdered in the apartments, in the gardens, in the neighboring streets; two thousand persons perished. The victors marched in triumph into the hall of the Assembly, dictating to it two orders, — the deposition of the king, and the convocation of a national convention. It obeyed the second; as for the first, it contented itself with suspending the executive power. The mob had scored another victory.

Louis XVI. left the Assembly only to be led to prison in the Temple. An unscrupulous faction, that of the Commune of Paris, became master, with Danton, then minister of justice, at its head.

Massacres of September, 1792. — The Prussians had just taken Longwy; the report spread that they were in Verdun. Consternation was general. But Danton believed that before

going forth to conquer foreign enemies it was necessary to exterminate those at home, at least to "strike terror to the royalists." He ordered, or allowed the committee of surveillance to order, the frightful massacres of September 2-6. A band of four or five hundred assassins, hired by the Commune, took possession of the prisons. Some of them constituted themselves a tribunal, others served as executioners. The prisoners were called, and after a few questions they were set at liberty or led into the courtyard of the prison and despatched with sabres, pikes, axes, and clubs. After having killed the political prisoners, they murdered prisoners of all classes. The number of killed amounted to nine hundred and sixty-six. The Assembly, terrified and powerless, had made no opposition.

Victory of Valmy (September 20, 1792). — One hundred and sixty thousand Prussians and Imperialists had set out from Coblenz in July. To oppose them, France had only ninety-six thousand men, without discipline, without confidence in themselves or in their commanders, and who would not have been able to prevent the enemy from reaching Paris itself, if the enemy had been skilful and the march prompt. On the 22d of August the allies had only reached Longwy, which was taken; Verdun opened its gates. Brunswick slowly extended his line behind the Meuse; Dumouriez had time to come up, occupied the defiles of the Argonne, and formed in the rear three intrenched camps, into which he received the soldiers who came from every direction.

In spite of the Prussian advance, Dumouriez persisted in remaining in the Argonne, intending to establish himself in the rear of the Prussians. The latter made a halt, in order to attack him. The principal struggle was for the possession of the hill of Valmy, where Kellermann had posted himself with his raw conscripts, who stood the fire with a steadiness which surprised the enemy. The action was little but a cannonade of several hours, ending with a spirited repulse of the Prussian charge, by Kellermann's conscripts (September 20).

The day after the battle of Valmy, the Convention assembled and proclaimed the republic. Its first reply to the negotiations proposed by Brunswick was worthy of the old Roman Senate: "The French Republic can listen to no proposition until the Prussian troops have entirely evacuated the French territory." The Prussians, decimated by

hunger and sickness, began their evacuation of France on October 1.

Defence of Lille; Victory of Jemmapes. — While Dumouriez arrested at Valmy the invading army, and slowly followed up its retreat, Custine had taken the offensive on the Rhine, captured Speyer, Worms, and even Mainz. In the Alps, Montesquiou conquered Savoy, and Anselme the county of Nice. In the Netherlands the Austrians had attacked Lille with savage barbarity, but could not overcome the stanch bravery of that patriotic city. Dumouriez arrived with the army of Valmy. On the 6th of November he won the battle of Jemmapes, which gave France the Austrian Netherlands. On the 13th he entered Brussels.

Thus, in the first campaign, the new France, training her young soldiers under fire, repulsed the attack of kings, and laid her hand upon those half-French countries which Louis XIV. himself had not been able to secure. Goethe, who was present with the Prussian army at Valmy, as a spectator, declared that evening that then and there a new epoch in the history of the world began.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE CONVENTION.

(1792-1795 A.D.)

National Convention. — Royalty had succumbed. The Convention's first act was to proclaim the republic. But the conquerors were divided; two great parties contended for the direction of the Assembly, — the Girondists, who had had the predominance in the Legislative Assembly, and who retained it some months longer in the Convention; and the Montagnards, who were later to rule over it. The first was superior in eloquence and learning, the second had more passion and boldness. Nourished upon the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau, they dreamed of a millennium of public virtue for France; even though society perished under the experiment, they wished to apply their theories. Between the Girondists and the Montagnards was the Plain, composed of moderate and feeble men, who were powerless against the momentum of the majority.

Death of Louis XVI. (January 21, 1793). — After the affair of the 10th of August, the royal family had been shut up in the Temple. All communication with those outside had been forbidden. They lived thus for five months in the Temple under a surveillance always strict and often insulting. Louis XVI., formed rather for private life than for the throne, showed during his captivity a calm dignity and virtue which often touched the most brutal jailers.

The constitution declared the king inviolable and authorized no penalty against him but deposition, which had been already pronounced. But the situation was extreme, a coalition of all Europe was imminent, and the Convention, constituting itself both accuser and judge, ordered the king to appear before it (December 3). The venerable Malesherbes, crowning a beautiful life by a noble act, demanded and obtained the honor of defending his old master. Saint-Just and Robespierre did not trouble themselves as to whether the accusations against the king were true or false;

they loudly demanded his death as a measure for the public safety. The Girondists made only timid efforts to save him.

Four questions were successively submitted to the vote: 1. Is Louis guilty of conspiracy against the public liberty and an attempt against the general safety? A unanimous affirmative. 2. Shall he have an appeal to the people? 276 affirmatives out of 745 voting. 3. What penalty shall be inflicted? 387 votes for death unconditionally, 338 for detention or death conditionally, 28 absent or not voting. 4. Shall his execution be delayed? 310 yeas against 380 nays. The Convention ordered the execution to take place within twenty-four hours; and on the 21st of January, 1793, Louis XVI., with a courage and Christian resignation which posterity admires, mounted the scaffold. He tried to speak a few words to the crowd, but a roll of the drums drowned his voice.

Thus a prince who had sincerely desired the welfare of his people died by the hand of the people, a victim of hatred the more implacable because it was believed to be legitimate. The fatal doctrine of the supremacy of the public safety was responsible for one more crime, for it was again forgotten that the real safety of nations comes from courage and magnanimity and not from the executioner. Executions could only lead to still further executions.

First Coalition (1793-1797).—The death of Louis XVI. armed against France the states which were still hesitating. All sovereigns felt themselves threatened by the doctrines of revolutionary propagandism which the Convention practised. Upon the proposition of Danton it had decreed that France should grant aid and fraternity to all peoples who should wish to recover their liberty (November 19, 1792). Pitt carried England into the coalition with her fleets and subsidies. France, threatened on all her frontiers, did not recoil. In February and March, 1793, she sent her declaration of war to England, the Netherlands, and Spain, and received that of the Empire. It was a new crusade, so to speak, of all European royalties and aristocracies, not to revenge Louis XVI., but to crush the principles of the new social order upheld by the Revolution.

Extreme Dangers; the Terror.—In the western part of France agitation against the Revolutionary government had commenced early. In October, 1791, it became necessary to

send troops against the Chouans, as the insurgents were called. But the Vendean peasants did not begin civil war for the cause of the throne and the altar till after the death of the king. At the same time that this danger appeared in the interior, reverses began abroad. The English attacked the colonies; Dumouriez, defeated at Neerwinden, evacuated Belgium and declared against the Convention. His soldiers refused to follow him, but the republic had none the less lost in him its best general. The army was again disorganized and the northern frontier was endangered.

The Convention, however, made progress everywhere. Against enemies within, a committee of general security was created, which was to search for not only criminals, but suspected persons; and a revolutionary tribunal to punish them. A committee of public safety, a sort of dictatorship of nine persons, controlled all public authority, so as to infuse into the national defence the most energetic activity (April 6). There was suspicion everywhere; Robespierre firmly believed that the Girondists were trying to dismember France and throw it open to the foreigners; the Girondists suspected Marat, Robespierre, and Danton. An extraordinary state of distrust arose, from which followed the Reign of Terror.

Proscription of the Girondists (June 2, 1793); Revolt in the Provinces. — Since the trial of the king, the Girondists and Montagnards had been keeping up a desperate struggle in the Convention; the one party wishing to arrest the Revolution, the other to hasten its progress. The most atrocious of the radicals was the hideous Marat. The Girondists, whom he accused of the crime of moderatism, attacked him. They obtained his indictment and had him summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. That terrible tribunal acquitted Marat, and the only result was to show the weakness of the Girondists. An attack against Robespierre was not more successful, and alienated Danton, who at once fought against them. The party of the Mountain, controlling the sections of Paris through the Commune and the Jacobins, armed them against the Convention, which, under the pressure of the riot, voted for the arrest of thirty-one of the Girondists. Some of them, as Vergniaud and Gensonné, awaited their sentence; others escaped from their persecutors and attempted to raise the departments. The

greater part of the cities in the south declared against the Convention; Toulon was delivered over to the English with the whole Mediterranean squadron (August); Paoli tried to deliver up Corsica to them; Condé, Valenciennes, and Mainz were lost (July), and the Spaniards invaded Roussillon. At the same time a terrible scarcity of food was causing internal disorganization.

Energy of the Measures for Defence. — But the Convention displayed a desperate energy. It attempted to regulate prices (September), and established the most severe laws against monopolizers and speculators. Commercial liberty, political liberty, civil liberty, were all suppressed. The entire country submitted to the dictatorship of the Committee of Public Safety. The law against suspects threw three hundred thousand people into the prisons, and Barrère declared, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, that France must become one vast camp. Twelve hundred thousand men were levied. In a few months Carnot organized fourteen armies. Powder and steel were hastily prepared. Bells were melted to make cannon. Bordeaux and Lyons were reduced to submission, the latter city after a resistance of sixty-three days. Bonaparte, then a captain of artillery, recaptured Toulon (December); the Vendéans were driven out of Nantes (June), and Jourdan, at the head of the principal army, held the allies in check.

The Guillotine. — Meanwhile nobles and priests, proscribed as "suspects," perished in great numbers on the scaffolds erected in all the cities: Carrier, Collot-d'Herbois, Couthon, Fouché, Barras, and others, exceeded in the provinces the most horrible proscriptions ever recorded in history. The murder of Marat by Charlotte Corday rendered the Terror more implacable. Queen Marie Antoinette (October 16), Madame Elizabeth, Bailly, the Girondists (October 31), the Duke of Orleans, General Custine, the great chemist Lavoisier, Malesherbes, and a thousand others were guillotined. Cartloads of victims, without regard to age or station, were daily dragged to execution.

Execution of the Hébertists and Dantonists (March and April, 1794). — Disputes began to arise among the Montagnards themselves. The most violent of them, the Hébertists, all-powerful in the Commune, attempted to make the Terror the regular government of France, professed Atheism, and caused the Goddess of Reason to be placed on the altar

of Notre-Dame. The Dantonists attacked both the anarchists of Hébert's party, and the Committee of Public Safety, whose tyranny they eloquently denounced. Robespierre, who with Couthon and Saint-Just had the upper hand in the Committee, first denounced the Hébertists, whom he accused of corrupting the nation by propagating atheism, and of conspiring with foreigners. They were executed (March 24, 1794); twelve days after, Danton, Desmoulins, and those who were now called the Moderates, suffered the same fate on pretext of Orleanism (April 8, 1794).

The 9th Thermidor. — Meantime Robespierre, in his turn, began to think of checking the Revolution, so as to construct upon the bloody ruins of the past a society arranged according to his own ideas. At this, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and others, were roused to fierce opposition. Robespierre proposed a reorganization of the Revolutionary Tribunal, rendering easier the process of judicial murder by effacing the last vestiges of legal forms, and placing the Convention at his mercy (22 Prairial). Then he withdrew from the government and retired to the Jacobin Club, awaiting the opportunity to strike a decisive blow. Meantime the Terror redoubled. In forty-seven days, fourteen hundred persons perished.

Such a horrible state of affairs could not last. The outcry of public pity arose against the authors of these abominations, and especially against Robespierre. His enemies made the most of this movement of public opinion; they accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship. On the 8th Thermidor the struggle took place in the Convention. Robespierre wearied the Assembly by an interminable defence, and irritated it by threats. The debate was stormy, and for a long time indecisive, but finally the Plain went over to the enemies of Robespierre. Next day the struggle in the Convention was renewed. Robespierre was arraigned with Couthon and Saint-Just, his brother and Lebas. But the Commune rose in insurrection, delivered the prisoners, and conducted them in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville. Open war now broke out between the rival powers, the representatives of Paris and those of France. The Convention acted with energy and determination, outlawed Robespierre and his friends, and marched powerful forces upon the Hôtel de Ville, who seized the condemned men. Robespierre was severely wounded, perhaps by his own

hand. All were led to the scaffold amid the insults of the mob, who beheld in their punishment the end of the Reign of Terror (9-10 Thermidor, 27-28 July, 1794). In the four hundred and twenty days during which the Terror had lasted, 2669 sentences of condemnation had been pronounced by the Revolutionary Tribunal and carried out, not counting the victims put to death in the provinces.

Abolition of the Revolutionary Laws. — The fall of Robespierre became the signal for a reaction, which, in spite of its excesses, allowed France time to breathe. The guillotine ceased to be the chief means of government. The importance of the Committees of Public Safety and General Security was considerably diminished; the law of Prairial was repealed; the prisons were opened; at Paris alone ten thousand captives were set free. The Convention assumed the powers of the Commune of Paris, and the Jacobin Club was closed. Carrier and other leaders in the massacres were sent to punishment. Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and Billand-Varennes were transported to Cayenne, after a final effort on the part of the Jacobin party on the 1st Prairial (May 20, 1795).

Glorious Campaign of 1793. — The great success of her arms had happily consoled France in her grief. Carnot, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, had organized victory. The strategists of the coalition were slow and methodical. Carnot, instead of scientific manœuvres which the new French generals had not yet learned, and which the French conscripts could not comprehend, demanded that the army should strike rapid blows, marching right on with bayonets fixed, without considering the numbers of the enemy. This system of tactics, well suited to the inexperience and enthusiasm of the raw French troops, was also the best for cutting the long and slender cordon with which the coalition had surrounded France; it was successful. At the end of August, 1793, France was invaded on all sides, and her situation seemed desperate; at the end of December she was almost everywhere victorious.

Loss of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mainz (May-August). — After the defection of Dumouriez, the allies, instead of marching together upon Paris, were thinking only of their own individual interests. Condé and Valenciennes were invested. Custine had allowed the Prussians to surround Mainz. After three months' sieges the allies took the three

towns; but meanwhile all France had risen, and the preparations for defence were carried on with an energy proportioned to the danger.

The allies lost another month in preparing for new operations. The English then marched on Dunkirk, and the Austrians laid siege to Quesnay. Houchard defeated the English at Hondshoote (September 8). Five days after he defeated the Dutch, but a panic drove his army back in disorder to Lille. He was removed, and he, as well as Custine, was sent to the scaffold. The allies, now masters of the Scheldt and of the country between the Scheldt and the Sambre, endeavored to take Maubeuge, so as to assure themselves of the possession of the upper Sambre. France seemed in great peril; but Carnot promoted Jourdan, a simple chief of battalion at the beginning of the campaign, to the command of the army of the North, and Jourdan defeated the Prince of Coburg at Watignies, and blockaded Maubeuge.

In the Vosges the French armies at first lost some battles. But the youthful Hoche was placed at the head of the army of the Moselle, Pichegru at the head of the army of the Rhine, and Saint-Just and Lebas, coming to the seat of operations, inspired the troops and people with fresh energy. Hoche and Pichegru defeated the Austrians and compelled them to recross the Rhine, while the Prussians, thus exposed on their left, fell back to Mainz. Hoche wintered in the enemy's country, in the Palatinate. In Italy the French and Piedmontese contended for the chain of the Alps. On the side of the Pyrenees the republican army fell back before the Spaniards (December).

Successes and Defeat of the Vendéans (1793).— But at this moment the civil war was drawing to an end. The republicans had recaptured Lyons (October) and Toulon (December). La Vendée resisted longer. The revolt of the peasants of that province began at Saint-Florent on the Loire. In March, 1793, the young men of the canton were summoned thither to be drafted into the army. They mutinied, drove off the gendarmes, and pillaged the Hôtel de Villé. A peasant named Cathelineau represented to them that the Convention would take summary vengeance upon them. He persuaded them to follow him, hastened from village to village, collected volunteers, and at the head of this force captured some posts, arms, and cannon. A game-keeper, Stofflet, joined him with a similar following. From

a band of insurgent peasants, the force grew into an army. Led by the noblemen of the province and the two popular chiefs, the Vendéans took Saumur (June), and in order to make their way to the sea, — that is, to join hands with the émigrés and the English, — they captured Nantes. Cathelineau was killed in this last attack, but the Vendéans remained masters of their country and drove the republicans out of it by two victories in July and one in September.

A considerable republican force was then sent into La Vendée, and with them Kléber, who was a host in himself; but divided commands resulted in the defeat of all four divisions of this army. The Convention ordered its generals to end the war before the 20th of October. In eleven days the Vendéans sustained four defeats. Kléber finally routed them before Chollet (October 17). Eighty thousand Vendéans, men, women, children, and old men, whom this disaster had driven to the Loire, crossed the river and endeavored to raise Anjou, Maine, and Brittany; they even went as far as Granville, where they hoped to obtain assistance from the English. But Granville repulsed them, and they then turned towards Angers (December), to return to La Vendée. This time the Loire was well guarded; they were thrown back upon Le Mans, defeated in that city, and entirely overcome in Savenay (December 28). This was the end, so far as field operations were concerned.

Campaign of the Summer of 1794; Fleurus. — Pichegru, displacing Hoche by intrigue and then transferred to the North, lost two months in fruitless and bloody struggles on the Scheldt and the Sambre. Fortunately, Carnot renounced in season the idea of attacking the enemy in front, and determined to threaten their communications and line of retreat by bringing up Jourdan with forty-five thousand men from the Moselle to the Sambre. Four times the republican columns crossed the Sambre; four times they were repulsed. But it was necessary, at whatever cost, to obtain possession of Charleroi. A fifth passage was successful. Charleroi capitulated, and the Prince of Coburg lost the battle of Fleurus (June 28), which reopened the Low-Countries to the French. Pichegru drove the English towards Holland; Jourdan drove the Austrians back behind the Meuse. Dugommier won a decided success in the Pyrenees, and Dumerbion captured the camp of the Piedmontese. The way into Italy and Spain was now open as well as the Low-Countries.

Winter Campaign of 1794-1795; Conquest of the Low-Countries; Invasion of Spain. — Winter put a stop neither to the operations nor to the success of the armies. Jourdan drove the Austrians again beyond the Rhine (October), whither the Prussians were compelled to follow them. Then the four French armies of the North, of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Moselle, and of the Rhine, were stretched along the great river. Winter had set in and was very severe. The temperature fell to twenty-seven degrees below zero (Cent.). The soldiers, ragged and unpaid, but supported against all miseries by their moral energy, marched onward, crossing the canals and rivers, and driving before them the English and Dutch. On the twentieth of January, 1795, they entered Amsterdam. Squadrons of hussars hastened to the Texel to take the Dutch fleet, fastened in by the ice. Pichegru established in Holland the Batavian Republic. Thence he could turn the Prussian defences on the Rhine; Northern Germany lay open to attack.

Dugommier forced the passage of the Eastern Pyrenees (November), but perished at the moment of victory. As a consequence of this victory, one of the strongest places in Europe, Figueras, opened its gates. Moncey, at the other extremity of the Pyrenees, at the same time effected the conquest of Guipuzcoa; Spain was invaded on two sides.

Peace with Prussia and Spain (1795); Quiberon. — Prussia and Spain were alarmed at their defeats; Prussia, besides, was at this moment much occupied with the final partition of Poland. Both powers asked for peace (treaty of Basel, April and July); Prussia ceded her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine; Spain, the Spanish portion of San Domingo. This peace was the recognition of the republic and the Revolution by two of the great states of Europe.

England, Austria, Sardinia, and the Empire remained in line. The first, in order to arouse again in the French provinces of the West the forces of the royalist party, landed in the peninsula of Quiberon two divisions of émigrés. Hoche, called from the army of the Rhine to pacify La Vendée, destroyed them (July, 1795).

Reverses on the Sea; the Vengeur. — If the genius of war on land is born of inspiration, maritime warfare demands science and long practice. Now the brilliant naval staff which had conquered England in the American war had

emigrated; the fleet was left without commanders; hence its inferiority in great naval battles. On the 1st of June, 1794, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse attacked, with twenty-five ships, manned by peasants, an English fleet of thirty-two sails, in order to protect an immense convoy of grain. The convoy passed, but the fleet was defeated and lost six vessels. As one of them, the *Vengeur*, sank in the waves, the crew went down singing the *Marseillaise*. Martinique, Guadeloupe, and even Corsica were taken by the English. There were, however, some successes gained in privateering.

Constitution of the Year III. (1795). — Meanwhile the Convention, having triumphantly survived the disturbances which followed the 9th Thermidor, abolished the democratic constitution of 1793, which had never yet been put in operation, and vested the legislative power in two councils: the Council of Five Hundred, whose duty was to propose laws, and the Council of Ancients, whose office was to examine and accept them. The executive power was given to a directory of five members, renewed by fifths each year, nominated by the legislature, and responsible. All power was divided. It was hoped by this means to escape a dictatorship and form a moderate republic; yet the result of the constitution of the year III. was only a feeble and anarchical republic.

The 13th Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795). — The 9th Thermidor had been followed by such a reaction that the royalists hoped for an early restoration. They believed that the approaching elections would give them a majority. But the Convention decided that two-thirds of the members of the new legislative body should be taken among the members of the Convention, so that the royalists could be only a very small minority in it. The royalists incited the sections of the National Guard to outbreak, and marched upon the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. Barras, who was appointed to defend it, chose as his lieutenant a young general who had performed important services before Toulon, Napoleon Bonaparte. They had only six thousand or seven thousand soldiers. Bonaparte rapidly fortified the Tuileries; the troops of the sections, received with a furious fire of grape-shot, were routed at once and put to flight. In October, 1795, the Convention declared its mission ended.

Principal Achievements of the Convention. — In the midst

of its intestine commotions and its victories, the Convention had prepared a uniform code for all France, had decreed a system of national instruction, and the establishment of the Normal School, the Polytechnic School, the Lycées, the Schools of Medicine, the Conservatory of Arts and Trades, chairs of Modern Languages, the Bureau of Longitudes, the Conservatory of Music, the Institute, the Museum of Natural History, and had established the unity of weights and measures (metric system).¹ By the disorderly issues of assignats (44 billions) it had broken down all fortunes, and by the law fixing a maximum of prices, it had ruined commerce; but by the sale of the "national property," which formed a third of the territory, it had laid open to the fruitful labor of the new proprietors immense domains until then unproductive; and by the systematic consolidation of the public debt, it had prepared, for better days, public confidence in the credit of the State.

¹ The Convention had replaced the Gregorian calendar by the republican calendar. The new era began on the 22d of September, 1792.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE DIRECTORY.

(October, 1795–November, 1799.)

Situation of the Republic at the End of 1795.—The Council of Ancients and that of the Five Hundred organized on the 27th of October, and elected as directors five regicides, La Réveillère-Lépeaux, Rewbel, Letourneur, Carnot, and Barras; the first three honest and laborious men, but thoroughly incapable of their duties; the fourth a superior man. The new government established itself in the palace of the Luxembourg. The situation was difficult. Local government was paralyzed. The treasury was empty, the *assignats* fallen into the most complete discredit. Commerce and industry no longer existed; the armies were in need of food, clothing, and even ammunition. But three years of such a war had made soldiers and generals; Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine; Jourdan, that of the Sambre and Meuse; Hoche, that in the West, and Bonaparte, who was to eclipse them all, had just been put in command of the army of the Interior, which he soon after exchanged for that of the army of Italy.

Napoleon Bonaparte.—Napoleon Bonaparte, born at Ajaccio on the 15th of August, 1769, was a son of Charles Bonaparte, of an Italian family, and Letizia Ramolino. His father died in 1785; his mother died in Rome in 1839. They had eight children; Napoleon was the second. Admitted to the military school of Brienne in 1779, he passed, five years after, to the military school of Paris. The following year he obtained the rank of lieutenant in a regiment of artillery. He was at first an earnest partisan of the Revolution. When the army of the Convention attacked Toulon, the representatives of the people made him a chief of battalion and gave him the direction of the artillery during the siege. He seized a point on the shore of the roadstead whence the English fleet could be fired upon. Their retreat thus cut off, the English hastened to abandon



ASSIGNATS.

From a print in the National Library.



Toulon. Bonaparte, promoted to be brigadier-general as a reward for this service, went to command the artillery of the army of Italy. After the 9th Thermidor he was placed on the unattached list; the 13th Vendémiaire brought him prominently into public notice, and Carnot gave him the command of the army of the Alps. He was not yet twenty-seven years old.

Campaign of Bonaparte in Italy (1796-1797).—Carnot's plan for the campaign of 1796 was bold and wise. Jourdan and Moreau, having each from seventy thousand to eighty thousand men, were to enter Germany, the first by the valley of the Main, the second by that of the Neckar, to reach the basin of the Danube and descend thence upon Austria, which was to be threatened by Bonaparte from Italy. Thus, Moreau in the centre, Jourdan and Bonaparte on the two wings, were to effect a combined forward movement and converge if possible on the road to Vienna. But the three armies were separated from each other by mountains.

When Bonaparte reached the army of the Alps, the generals, Masséna, Augereau, and the rest, already distinguished by important services, received the new-comer coldly. He called them together, explained his plans to them, and convinced them at once. To the soldiers Bonaparte issued one of his magnificent proclamations, which electrified all hearts.

Bonaparte had thirty-eight thousand men against sixty thousand Sardinian and Austrian troops. But he resolved to take the offensive, and did so boldly. Instead of wearing out his forces among sterile rocks where no important blows could be struck, he turned the flank of the Alps and crossed them at the lowest point of the range, the Col de Montenotte, while Beaulieu, the Austrian general, awaited him on the seashore; by this skilful movement he placed himself in front of the weakest point of the Austrians and Piedmontese. He pierced their centre at Montenotte (April 11 and 12), established himself between them, and in order to separate them more completely, defeated them successively. He was then master of the road to Turin, upon which the Piedmontese had retreated, and of that to Milan, by which the Austrians were falling back. But he did not pause; he crushed the Sardinian army and compelled them to lay down their arms by the armistice of Cherasco, which he signed ten leagues from Turin (April 28), and which, followed

by a treaty of peace, gave France Savoy, Nice, and Tenda, and afforded him a secure base for the offensive march which he meditated.

Having got rid of one enemy, he turned towards the other. He crossed the Po behind the Austrians at Piacenza (May 9), defeated one of their divisions there, and, ascending the Adda, found the Austrians in a strong position at Lodi. The bridge of Lodi was carried by a brilliant charge (May 11). Beaulieu tried still to preserve the line of the Mincio. Bonaparte deceived him as to the real point of attack, forced the passage at Borghetto (May 30), and finally drove back into the Tyrol that army which but a little while before was threatening the French frontiers. At the same time he extorted from the dukes of Parma and Modena 2,000,000 fr. apiece, ammunitions, and pictures. The Pope promised 21,000,000, 100 pictures, and 500 manuscripts. He levied a war contribution from Lombardy of 20,000,000, and sent 10,000,000 of it to the Directory. He stopped at the Adige, an excellent line of defence, covering Lombardy, and besieged Mantua (June 3).

Meantime Wurmser, the best of the Austrian generals, succeeded Beaulieu. Wurmser had 60,000 men against 30,000, but he divided his forces. Raising the siege of Mantua in order to have all his forces united, Bonaparte, by successively moving all his forces from his right to his left, and from his left to his right, crushed both divisions of the Austrian army, at Lonato and at Castiglione. Wurmser, threatened with being cut off from the Tyrol, had only time to fall back; then he received reinforcements, which increased his army again to 50,000 men; he then commenced a second campaign. While he was descending the valley of the Brenta, Bonaparte hastened to meet him in the valley, attacked him there, surrounded him between the French army and the river, nearly captured him, and finally blocked him up in Mantua (September). After the defeat of Jourdan and the retreat of Moreau, Austria sent a fourth army, of 60,000 men, under Alvinzi, into Italy. Alvinzi recruited 60,000 more men. The army of Italy seemed lost; the whole peninsula behind it was in revolt, and this time the enemy advanced cautiously. Forty thousand men arrived in front of Verona and occupied a strong position, from which Bonaparte was unable to dislodge them. Apparently retreating from the town, he descended the Adige, and crossed it at

a lower point, in order to turn the flank of the Austrians. Here, in the marshes of Arcole, after three days' furious fighting (November 15-17), in which he was in great personal danger, he compelled Alvinzi to retreat.

Six weeks later (January, 1797) Alvinzi, again reinforced, reappeared with 60,000 men. Selecting the sole point in the mountains at which the two chief divisions of the Austrian army could effect a junction, Bonaparte, though he had only 16,000 men against 40,000, established himself at the point of junction, and inflicted upon both divisions the overwhelming defeat of Rivoli. Suddenly he learned that Provera, with 20,000 men, had passed the Adige, and was seeking to release Wurmser. He left Joubert to pursue Alvinzi, and hastened against Provera with Masséna's division, which had fought on the 13th before Verona, had marched that night to the assistance of Joubert, had just fought all day long on the 14th at Rivoli, and now marched all night and all day on the 15th to fight again on the 16th before Mantua. The most celebrated soldiers had never before accomplished anything like this. Provera was compelled to lay down his arms. Wurmser, reduced to the last extremity, surrendered Mantua (February 2). Thus in ten months 55,000 Frenchmen had conquered more than 200,000 Austrians, had taken prisoners more than 80,000, killed and wounded more than 20,000; they had fought twelve pitched battles, more than sixty skirmishes, and crossed several rivers. War, thus conducted, and for a glorious cause, is a magnificent spectacle.

The regency of Modena and the Pope having shown sympathy for the Austrians, Bonaparte deposed the duke, erected his states into the Cispadane Republic, and marched upon Rome. Pius VI., trembling, signed the peace of Tolentino; it cost him 30,000,000, the Romagna, which, with the legations of Ferrara and Bologna, was united to the Cispadane Republic, and Ancona, which was occupied by the French (February 10, 1797).

Retreat of Moreau (October, 1796). — The armies of Germany had not been either so skilfully or so fortunately conducted. Jourdan and Moreau at first drove the Austrians before them; but Carnot caused them to act separately, and the Archduke Charles, boldly leaving Moreau with a part of his forces, and joining Wartensleben in the valley of the Main, defeated Jourdan, and drove him back behind the

Lahn. This was the same manœuvre which had proved so advantageous to Bonaparte in the opening of the campaign in Italy. It was equally successful, but had not the same result, for Moreau was not Beaulieu, and the archduke was not Bonaparte. He lost a precious opportunity by not attacking Moreau at once in the midst of Bavaria; Moreau slowly fell back through the Black Forest, and without having left behind him a single caisson or a single man, in that glorious retreat of twenty-six days, he re-entered Alsace unmolested on the 18th of October.

Last Victories of Bonaparte in Italy; Preliminaries of Leoben (1797).—Fortunately the marvellous victories of the army of Italy compensated for this reverse. The Archduke Charles, having defeated Jourdan, arrived with a fourth army which stretched along the Carinthian and Julian Alps from the upper Adige to the mouth of the Tagliamento. Bonaparte, with Joubert and Masséna, cut this half-circle at three points. Then, while Joubert and Masséna effected a junction in the Puttersthal, Bonaparte pushed on to Klagenfurt and finally to Leoben; his advance guard, on the summit of the Sömmering, could perceive, twenty-five miles to the north, the hills of Vienna.

At this moment Hoche and Moreau began operations. The first, at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, crossed the Rhine in face of the enemy; in four days he marched thirty-five leagues, won three battles, and fought five minor engagements, and was about to surround the Austrian army. Desaix, one of Moreau's lieutenants, crossed the river with equal success, and drove the enemy back into the Black Forest. If Bonaparte had known of these victories, he would have refused all negotiations; but the court of Vienna, in alarm, hastened to sign the preliminaries of Leoben (April 18), agreeing that France should have Belgium, and Austria the provinces of Venice on the mainland as compensation for the Milanese. Venice having broken out in insurrection in Bonaparte's absence, four thousand men entered the city and established there a provisory republic. The senate of Genoa was also overthrown, but remained an independent Ligurian Republic. England now offered of her own accord to negotiate, and conferences for peace were opened at Lille.

Internal Anarchy.—While the republic was victorious abroad, at home the situation was growing worse under a

divided and incapable government. In the beginning it had been strong enough to overthrow two attempts of the two extreme parties; the first in La Vendée, suppressed by Hoche (February and March, 1796), the second that of the communist Babœuf (May). A conspiracy of the Jacobins in September proved fruitless.

But the Directory was growing weak, and the disorder was extreme. The territorial *mandats* which had replaced the *assignats* (March, 1796), had fallen into equal depreciation. The financial crisis became frightful; dishonest acts were imputed to the whole Directory. The country, like the government, was going at random. So lately escaped from the Terror, it rushed into pleasure; dissipation and speculation were unbridled; bands of robbers increased. It seemed that the State would be utterly destroyed.

Progress of the Royalists.—The royalists believed that it would be an easy matter to overthrow this tottering government. The émigrés returned in great numbers, and openly labored for a counter-revolution. Emboldened by their success in the elections for the renewal of the Councils, they made two of their partisans presidents of them, and another, a member of the Directory. A monarchical restoration in favor of the Bourbons seemed imminent. Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI. (the latter's son, called Louis XVII., had died in prison in 1795), believed himself on the point of being recalled. But the country was not so ready to restore what it had so lately struck down. The armies especially were republican, and from the banks of the Adige, Bonaparte promised his aid against the royalists.

The 18th Fructidor, Year V (September, 1797).—In the night of the 18th Fructidor, Augereau led into Paris twelve thousand men, who surrounded the place where the Councils were sitting. The minority in each, on invitation from the Directory, expelled their colleagues and condemned fifty-three of them to transportation, together with two directors, — Carnot, who did not wish to resort to violence against the royalists; and Barthélemy, who favored them.

Moreau, falling under suspicion, was displaced; the two armies of the Rhine were confided to Hoche, in whom the republicans trusted, but who died at twenty-nine, a few days after having received this important command.

Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797).—The Directory pro-

posed to continue the war. But Bonaparte desired peace. In spite of the government, which justly refused to abandon the Venetians to Austria, he signed the treaty of Campo-Formio, the most glorious that France ever concluded (October 17, 1797). The emperor ceded Belgium, the possession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the Ionian Isles; he accepted the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic (Milan, Modena, and Bologna); as compensation, Venice, Istria, Friuli, and Dalmatia were given to him. Bonaparte had calculated wisely; his fame was increased by this peace more than by fresh victories. After having regulated the affairs of Italy, he returned to Paris, where the government and the people gave him a triumphal reception. The army of Italy shared in the honors which were showered upon their general.

Expedition to Egypt (1798-1799). — The war against the English continued. Hoche had wished to wage war directly against England; this was the true policy. But Bonaparte caused the Directory to renounce this enterprise. He had, however, firmly resolved to keep himself prominently before the people. He proposed an expedition which he had thought of while in Italy, the conquest of Egypt. From the borders of the Nile he hoped to attack England in India, and strike her in the heart by destroying her commerce and her empire. In order to risk forty thousand of the best soldiers of France at so great a distance, one ought to be master of the sea, and the English covered it with their fleets. It was consequently running a great risk, but it is often thus that the public mind is fascinated and mastered. The expedition was prepared in the greatest secrecy. The fleet, composed of fourteen ships of the line and a great number of transports, left Toulon the 10th of May, carrying thirty-six thousand men, almost all old soldiers of Arcole and Rivoli, together with savants, artists, and engineers.

At first the expedition was entirely successful. On the voyage it captured Malta; the knights did not even defend themselves. The fleet successfully eluded the English admiral, Nelson, and a landing was effected without hindrance on the 1st of July, four miles from Alexandria; that city was, in a few hours, carried by assault. Bonaparte marched immediately upon Cairo, where the formidable army of the Mamelukes, the real masters of the country, had concentrated its principal strength. Repulsed

in a first engagement, the Mamelukes fell back upon Cairo and prepared for a general battle. The French army followed them thither and paused, seized with admiration, in front of the Pyramids which rose in the vicinity of that city. "Soldiers," cried Bonaparte, "from the height of those Pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you!" In order to fight against this innumerable and valiant cavalry of the Mamelukes, he formed his divisions into squares and so placed them as to support each other. In vain the Mamelukes made the most brilliant and daring charges; they could not break those lines of iron and fire. The occupation of Cairo and the submission of Lower Egypt were the result of this victory (July 21).

Bonaparte hastened to organize the country; he respected the faith and the customs of the inhabitants, but he also assured the well-being of his soldiers, and established the Institute of Egypt, the members of which began the scientific conquest of that mysterious country. The news of a disaster to his fleet surprised Bonaparte in the very midst of these enterprises. He had ordered Admiral Brueys to leave the roadstead of Aboukir. A fatal delay allowed the English time to come up. The French line had not been formed near enough to the shore; half the English fleet could pass between it and the land, while the other half passed between it and the offing. This bold manœuvre was attempted by Nelson. It was successful. All the French vessels, except four, motionless at anchor, were obliged to sustain on both sides the fire of the whole fleet of the enemy, which advanced slowly, destroying the French ships one by one. The French fleet, with the exception of four vessels which escaped to Malta, was entirely destroyed (August 1). The Egyptian expedition, which was to have given the French the control of the Mediterranean, was, after this, only an adventure, instead of being the beginning of great achievements.

The French army was imprisoned in its conquest, and the Porte declared against it. Bonaparte first completed the occupation of the whole country, and suppressed a revolt in Cairo. Then, sure of his conquest, he advanced towards Syria, whence he could cover Egypt, and threaten Constantinople or India at will (February, 1799). He at first succeeded, and dispersed, at the battle of Mount Tabor, a large Turkish army. But at the siege of Acre all his genius

failed, for want of material means, against the courage of the Turks and the tenacity of the English commodore, Sidney Smith. He led his exhausted and diminished army back into Egypt. There he again signally defeated his enemies. The army of Egypt had nothing more to fear, but it also had nothing more to do, and this inaction annoyed Bonaparte. When he learned that a second coalition had been formed, that Italy was lost, that France was about to be invaded, he gave the command to Kléber, and embarking in a frigate, boldly crossed the whole Mediterranean through the midst of the English cruisers, and in October landed at Fréjus.

Maladministration of the Directory. — The Directory, by turns weak and violent, on the 22d Floréal (May 11, 1798), annulled the election of a number of deputies. A few months before, it had gone into actual bankruptcy. The interest of the debt was 258,000,000; the Directors repaid two-thirds of it with bonds on the national property, which lost five-sixths of their nominal value; the other third was consolidated and inscribed in the "great book of the public debt." They increased the excitement to the highest degree by a forced loan of 100,000,000, and by the law of hostages against relatives of émigrés and of former nobles, a law which destroyed the security of one hundred and fifty thousand families. Abroad they provoked Europe by imprudent acts. They overturned the temporal power of the Pope and the aristocracy of Bern; they created discontent in the Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics; and were unable to secure the obedience of their generals.

Second Coalition (March, 1799–March, 1802). — The sight of this internal disorganization, the withdrawal of Bonaparte and the best army, decided the powers of the continent to listen to the words of Pitt. England, Austria, Russia, a part of Germany, Naples, Piedmont, Turkey, and even the Barbary States, united against France. The country was exposed to the most serious dangers. The Councils decreed the law of conscription, which forced into military service all citizens of between twenty and twenty-five years, and ordered a levy of two hundred thousand men. The king of Naples, by an imprudent attack, brought upon himself a crushing defeat. The Parthenopean Republic was immediately proclaimed (January, 1799). Joubert had, at the same time, driven the king of Sardinia from Piedmont (December, 1798).

Reverses in Italy and in Germany (1799).—But the coalition had set on foot 360,000 men; the Directory had only 170,000, divided into five armies; Macdonald and Brune were at the two extremities, at Naples and in Holland; Jourdan and Schérer on the wings, in Germany and in Italy; Masséna in the centre, in Switzerland. Since the last war a democratic revolution had been going on in that country, and Switzerland had signed with France a treaty of alliance, which permitted the French to occupy the country with military forces; Masséna therefore advanced as far as the Rhine, while Schérer approached the Adige. Jourdan crossed the Rhine, and advanced between the Danube and Lake Constance in order to keep abreast of Masséna, while the latter, crossing the Rhine, sent his light horse into the upper valley of the Inn to support Schérer through the Tyrol. But the Archduke Charles stopped Jourdan at Stockach, and compelled him to fall back to the Rhine.

In Italy, Schérer, after wearying his troops by a succession of ill-conceived movements, and being defeated near Verona, lost his head and retreated behind the Adda. Masséna was forced to follow this retrograde movement; he retired behind the line formed by the Linth, Lake Zürich, and the Limmat. Meanwhile thirty thousand Russians had joined the sixty thousand Austrians in Italy, and Suwarof commanded the combined army. Moreau, replacing Schérer, was defeated at Cassano, but made a masterly retreat upon Turin, then upon Genoa. Macdonald returned from Naples in all haste, but was severely defeated in attempting to effect a junction with Moreau.

Victories of Brune at Bergen (September 19), and of Masséna at Zürich (September 25, 26, 1799).—Meanwhile, however, Brune defeated at Bergen (September 19), an army of forty thousand English and Russians which had landed in Holland, and forced them to seek refuge on their vessels; Masséna won the immortal victory of Zürich. For political reasons, the Aulic Council at Vienna resolved to send Suwarof and his army into Switzerland, the archduke to the Rhine. Masséna surprised the allies in the midst of their manœuvre, when the archduke had already quitted Switzerland, and Suwarof had not yet entered it. Throwing himself upon Zürich, he there crushed a Russian corps, and put to route another corps which was guarding the Linth; when Suwarof arrived from the Saint-Gothard, after much fatigue

and great losses, he found himself confronted by victorious troops who threw him back into the frightful gorges, whence he only escaped with the loss of half of his men. This glorious succession of manœuvres, called the battle of Zürich (September 25 and 26), cost the allies thirty thousand men and the defection of the Russians, who withdrew from the coalition. Bonaparte never gained a more glorious battle.

The 30th Prairial (June 18, 1799). — France, indeed, was saved; but the country nevertheless blamed its government for having exposed it to such great perils, and forced three of the directors to resign (30th Prairial, June 18, 1799). But it was of little use to change men, for the cause of the evil was in the institutions themselves. Anarchy continued. It was no longer as before the 18th Fructidor the royalists who tried to profit by it, but the remnant of the Jacobins. The government triumphed over this party without difficulty, yet the Directory continued to be despised. It was at this juncture that Bonaparte landed at Fréjus.

The 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799). — His return was greeted with transports of joy, which showed him that he was master of the situation. He appeared reserved and impenetrable. He shut himself up in his small house in the Rue Chanteraine, and seemed to live only for his sister, for his wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais, and for his colleagues of the Institute. Meantime he was observing and calculating. The country repelled the royalists because it did not wish to return to the old régime; it repelled the Jacobins, because it did not wish to return to '93. It was determined to preserve the Revolution. But the Revolution was twofold, social and political; it had been undertaken in order to secure equality and liberty. Anarchy was endangering both; to save the one France postponed the other; she cast herself into the arms of Bonaparte; she asked him to guarantee the social conquests of the Revolution by establishing order; liberty would return to her later. And Bonaparte accepted.

"To save France," said Siéyès, "a head and a sword are needed." For Bonaparte he complacently reserved the rôle of the sword. On the 18th Brumaire the majority of the Council of the Ancients ordered the removal of the two Councils to Saint-Cloud, and confided the execution of the decree to Bonaparte, who received the command of all the troops. Three members of the Directory, Siéyès, Roger-

Ducos and Barras, handed in their resignations; the other two were put under guard in the Luxembourg. At the same time Paris was filled with troops. The next day Bonaparte went to Saint-Cloud. He went first to the Ancients, then to the Five Hundred. At the hall of the Five Hundred, he was greeted with furious cries. "Down with the dictator! Down with the bayonets!" was heard from all parts of the hall as he entered, followed by a few grenadiers. He was surrounded, threatened; his grenadiers were obliged to defend him. His brother Lucien, who presided over the Council, went out of the hall, and, in the name of the people, summoned the soldiers to expel these agitators. Then, at the order of Bonaparte, General Leclerc entered the Assembly; the drum drowned the voices of the protesting deputies, and the hall was emptied without bloodshed. The Council of the Ancients resigned the executive authority into the hands of three provisional consuls, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos; and ordered two commissioners to revise the constitution (November 9 and 10, 1799).

The Revolution was abdicating in favor of the military power, and was about to enter with it upon a new phase of existence. At home it was to take root permanently in the country; abroad, its principles were to spread over Europe with the victories of the French armies. But afterwards was to come disaster, and France was to escape, mutilated and bleeding, from the terrible hands of the powerful genius who had now just seized upon her. The 18th Brumaire was the beginning of that long chain of prosperity, glory, and unexampled power, but also of lamentable errors and reverses, which form the history of the Consulate and the Empire. Besides, it was still another act of violence. How were law-abiding citizens, interested in wise modification of their institutions, to be formed, when for ten years no change had been effected except by violent overturnings?

End of the Eighteenth Century. — Not long after this military revolution, was ended the eighteenth century, an age at once both sceptical and credulous, gentle and terrible, light in morals and frivolous in wit, but which produced the great thought that society, as well as man individually, should grow continually better. Whatever may have been its faults, much may be forgiven this century "which, in material affairs, created the sciences by the help of which man has acquired an unlooked-for domination over nature,

and singularly increased his prosperity; which in moral affairs secured tolerance, sought for justice, proclaimed rights, demanded civil equality, recommended human fraternity, abolished cruelty in penal institutions, did away with the arbitrary administration of public affairs, endeavored to make reason the guide of the intellect, liberty the guide of governments, progress the ambition of peoples, and law the sovereign of the whole world" (Mignet).

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE CONSULATE.

(November, 1799-May, 1804.)

Constitution of the Year VIII.—Siéyès had ready a skilfully constructed constitution. But his too complicated machinery suited neither the time nor General Bonaparte, who had the genius and the strength to rescue France from her chaos. The plan of Siéyès was therefore abandoned, and on December 15, 1799, the constitution of the year VIII. was promulgated. Roman forms were still in fashion. The executive was to consist of three consuls, elected for ten years and re-eligible; but the first alone possessed all the prerogatives of power, the other two had only a consultative voice. These three consuls were Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Lebrun.

The executive power was to be no longer subordinate to the legislative. The laws, prepared, by order of the consuls, by a council of State appointed by them, were discussed by the Tribunal, composed of one hundred members, and passed or rejected by the Corps Législatif, which numbered three hundred deputies. The Tribunal merely made suggestions which the government might or might not take into consideration. When a law was brought before the Corps Législatif, three councillors of State, as orators of the government, and three orators of the Tribunal, discussed it before them. They then voted in silence. Thus, while the Convention, distrusting the executive power, had divided it by creating five directors, the constitution of the year VIII., distrusting the legislative, divided it, giving the initiative of laws to the government, their discussion to the tribunes, and the voting of them to the legislators. The Conservative Senate, composed of eighty members, appointed for life, watched over the maintenance of the constitution, judged all acts contrary to the organic laws, and chose the members of the Tribunal and of the Corps Législatif.

The electoral power continued in existence, but was trans-

formed. All Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age were electors; the electors of each *arrondissement* chose one in ten of their number to draw up a list of communal notables; from this list the First Consul selected the public functionaries of the *arrondissement*. The citizens named upon the communal list chose one in ten of their number to form a departmental list, from which the First Consul chose the functionaries of the department. Those named upon the departmental list formed, from one-tenth of their number, the national list. All those who composed this list were eligible to national public functions. It was from this third list of notables that the Senate was to choose the members of the Tribune and of the Corps Législatif. The assemblies which discussed and voted upon the laws were thus the product of an election of four degrees. There was only an appearance of representative government, and even the least discerning could perceive dictatorship behind this transparent shadow of liberty. Being submitted for the approval of the people, the constitution of the year VIII. was accepted by 3,011,107 votes against 1567.

Administrative Reorganization.—The First Consul hastened to propose numerous organic laws to the Tribune and to the Corps Législatif. One of the most important was that concerning the government of the department; he called the *intendants* again into existence, under the Roman name of *prefects*, and concentrated in the hands of these functionaries, who depended directly upon the minister of the interior, the whole executive authority. The prefect was aided by an executive council, and by the *conseil général*, a sort of legislature which expressed the wishes of the department. The *sous-préfet* had also a *conseil d'arrondissement*; the mayor of each commune, a municipal council. Each *arrondissement*, or *sous-prefecture*, had a civil court and a local receiver; each department, a criminal court and a receiver-general; twenty-seven courts of appeal were scattered over the country, and a Court of Cassation maintained uniformity of jurisprudence. This administrative organization of France was the completion of the work of Louis XIV., effected by carrying centralization to its utmost limits; it has in its general characteristics survived all subsequent revolutions; local liberties have been always stifled or kept weak. This excessive centralization resulted at first from the need of establishing national unity; it was of immense

advantage in time of conflict against all Europe. Yet a great many misfortunes have arisen from it, because Paris has been able to impose her will, her caprices, and her revolutions upon the whole country.

Efforts to reconcile and extinguish Parties.—Upon leaving the first council held after the 18th Brumaire, Siéyès said, "Gentlemen, we have a master." But excepting the small number of those who, like him, perceived the dictator under the robe of the consul, and excepting the royalists and the Jacobins who dreamed of two impossible things, all France greeted the new *coup d'état* with satisfaction. The consuls showed a very conciliatory spirit. Many political exiles and prisoners were recalled or set free. The proscription of nobles ceased; the churches were reopened.

To the astonishment of the incredulous, this powerful soldier showed himself a consummate administrator. In a few days he had touched everything, and everything had received new life. Trade revived. The country districts were freed from robbers, and the revolutionary disturbances of the South were appeased. A royalist insurrection was crushed by energetic measures. But the press was kept under rigid restrictions.

The armies contained many republicans; but they had had so much to complain of from the misgovernment of the Directory that its forcible overthrow was well received by them. Bonaparte, besides, occupied himself actively in reorganizing them and relieving the frightful suffering which was thinning their ranks. Moreau received the command of the united armies of the Rhine and Switzerland; Masséna, the army of Italy, the destitution of which was beyond conception.

Marengo (June 14, 1800).—The next day after the constitution of the year VIII. had gone into effect, the First Consul, setting aside all the usages of diplomacy, so as to make a greater impression upon public opinion, had written to the king of England a dignified and able letter, making overtures of peace in the interest of both nations. He wrote a similar one to the emperor of Germany; but Austria, which had the control of the whole of Italy, and England, which did not propose at any price to leave Malta and Egypt to France, rejected these overtures.

War, therefore, was unavoidable. Bonaparte prepared to make it glorious and decisive, content with having won

public opinion to his side by his moderation. In Italy, Masséna had only thirty-six thousand men against one hundred thousand Austrians under Baron Melas; he retired to Genoa, and there sustained a memorable siege. While he kept the Austrian army there nearly two months, great events, rendered possible by this heroic defence, were being accomplished behind him. The Austrian line of operations extended from Strassburg to Nice; but Switzerland, still in the hands of the French, projected like a bastion into this line, and laid it open to attack. By deceiving the enemy with regard to their movements, the French could pass out from Switzerland by the upper Rhine behind Marshal Kray, or by way of the Alps behind Baron Melas. Bonaparte conceived this double design; Moreau only imperfectly executed his part of it, but he forced the Austrians into their entrenched camp at Ulm. While they were held there, Bonaparte, by one of the greatest military combinations which had ever been executed, himself crossed the Alps. Deceiving his enemies as to his plans, he secretly put troops in motion from all parts; they received ammunition, horses, guns, and clothing on the road, and marched slowly and quietly towards Geneva and Lausanne. By the beginning of May all these corps were in Switzerland, and Bonaparte, following from the Tuileries the movements of Melas, predicted to his secretary in advance the remainder of the campaign.

He quitted Paris the 6th of May and hastened to Geneva. The pass of the Great St. Bernard, though very difficult, was resolved on. The cannon were dismounted and placed on sledges; the pieces of the gun-carriages and the ammunition were made up into loads, to be carried on the backs of mules. The passage began in the night of the 14th and 15th of May. On the following days divisions, gun-carriages, and ammunition passed forward continually. The guns and howitzers presented much difficulty. They were placed in the hollowed trunks of pine trees; a hundred men drew each of these; the bands played in the difficult passes, or sounded the charge; and all passed over. But an unforeseen obstacle stopped the movements of the army. The impregnable fort of Bard blocked the way. The First Consul flanked it by means of a goat-path which the infantry and cavalry followed. As for the artillery, the road below the fort was covered at night with straw and rubbish, the pieces wrapped with tow, the cannoniers dragged them,

and the dangerous defile was crossed during the night under the enemy's guns. Forty thousand men were thus brought into Italy; twenty thousand more, who were arriving by other passes, were soon to join them. Bonaparte had, by this manœuvre, established himself behind Melas; he had cut him off from Austria; he had frightened him by his boldness; he had conquered him before he had even met him.

When Melas learned that Bonaparte had entered Milan, in the midst of transports of admiration and enthusiasm, he rapidly concentrated all his forces in order to escape before being surrounded. Shut up between the Po, the Apennines, and the French army, he decided to offer a pitched battle. It took place not far from Alessandria, as Bonaparte had predicted at the Tuileries, near Marengo, the name of which it has rendered immortal. The battle was terrible, desperate. Bonaparte did not have all his forces at command; for, in order to prevent Melas from escaping him, he had spread his troops around him like a vast net. There were three battles fought that day. The first, early in the morning, was lost. The second also seemed likely to prove unsuccessful. Melas, believing he had gained the victory, left his chief of staff to despatch the enemy, and sent couriers to carry the good news to all the cabinets of Europe.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon, and the second battle was still lost. But Desaix, near Novi, had heard the terrible cannonading; he returned, and appeared on the field of battle with his division at the moment when the Austrians, formed in close column, were endeavoring to gain the road to Piacenza, their only path to safety. Bonaparte then commenced a third action. He threw Desaix with six thousand fresh troops on the front of the Austrian column, while all the rest of the army fell upon the flanks. Desaix fell. But his soldiers rushed furiously upon the Austrians to avenge him. The Austrian column, its head shattered, was cut in two. One portion was taken, the other routed. Panic seized the Austrian cavalry. Soon all fled, and Melas was obliged to capitulate. Italy was reconquered (June 14, 1800).

Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800). — In Germany, Moreau still acted on the offensive, forced the Austrians to quit Ulm, and penetrated as far as Munich. Austria concluded to negotiate; but England unexpectedly sent new subsidies.

Bonaparte determed to conquer peace by a winter campaign. Moreau was ordered to recommence hostilities, and to cross the Inn and march upon Vienna, while Macdonald was to march from the Grisons into the Tyrol, and Brune was to force the Mincio and the Adige. Macdonald and Brune succeeded; at the same time the Austrian ruler was driven out of Tuscany, and the Neapolitans from the Papal States. Moreau, with a magnificent army of one hundred thousand men, perfectly organized, was at Munich, holding the line of the Isar, while the Austrians were holding that of the Inn. Between the two rivers extended a great forest, with the village of Hohenlinden in the centre. The two generals took the offensive at the same time. But the archduke was obliged to change his line of march, and Moreau, falling upon him at Hohenlinden, inflicted a terrible defeat. Eight thousand men killed and wounded, twelve thousand prisoners, eighty-seven pieces of cannon captured, were the result of this brilliant victory. Six days later, Moreau crossed the Inn and marched on to Lintz and Steyer. He was at the gates of Vienna. Austria arrested his progress by promising to accept all the conditions of France.

Peace of Lunéville (February, 1801). — Two months after the battle of Hohenlinden, peace was signed at Lunéville. The emperor accepted as a basis the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio, which gave the left bank of the Rhine to France, and pushed the Austrian frontier beyond the Adige. He recognized the Batavian, Helvetian, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics, the last possessing the whole valley of the Po, and the new kingdom of Etruria, created for the Spanish house of Parma, at the expense of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, the emperor's brother. The court of Naples also submitted, and Italy was entirely at the disposal of the French. Spain undertook to force Portugal to desert the English alliance. The Czar, filled with admiration for the First Consul, offered him his friendship. Thus in fifteen months France, reorganized internally, had broken up the second coalition and imposed peace upon the continent. Unfortunately the new Italian States were without strength in themselves; France was forced to interfere continually in their affairs, and these encroachments were destined to bring on a new war.

Continuation of Hostilities with England. — England persisted in her hatred. But the ideas, which twenty years

before had armed all the states of the North against her, reappeared in the councils of the kings. The Czar, Paul I., won over by the adroit flatteries of the First Consul, with the king of Prussia, and the kings of Sweden and Denmark, had renewed the league of Armed Neutrality (December, 1800). England responded to it by laying an embargo upon all vessels of the allied powers which were found in her ports, and in March, 1801, admirals Nelson and Parker destroyed the Danish navy before Copenhagen. This bold stroke, and the assassination of the Czar, Paul I., put an end to the league of the Neutrals. Alexander, son and successor of Paul I., abandoned his policy, and France found herself left alone to defend the liberty of the seas. But the English had so superior forces upon the sea, that France could not even send aid to Malta, which they were blockading, nor to the army of Egypt, which they were threatening.

Loss of Egypt.—Kléber, to whom Bonaparte had left Egypt, was an excellent general; but, discouraged by the arrival of a Turkish army of eighty thousand men, he signed with Commodore Sidney Smith the Convention of El-Arish, by which the troops were to be taken back to France on English vessels. The British cabinet disavowed its representative and exacted that the army should surrender unconditionally. Kléber then recovered all his energy; he overwhelmed the Turks at Heliopolis, recaptured Cairo, and re-established the French domination in Egypt, but was assassinated on the day of Marengo. His successor, Menou, was entirely defeated, and forced to evacuate the country (September, 1801).

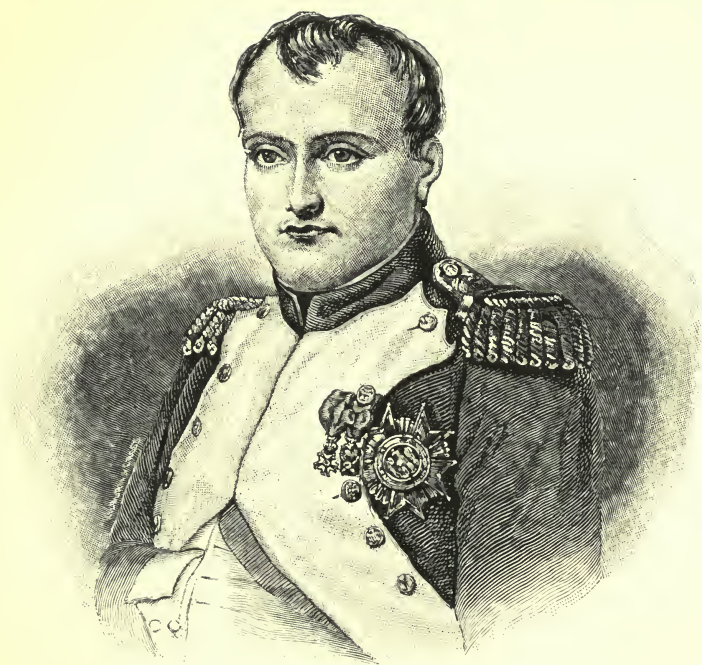
Peace of Amiens (March, 1802).—Malta was also captured by the English. But England was groaning under the weight of a debt of 12,000,000,000 francs, and with consternation saw the navy of France reviving under the powerful efforts of the First Consul. Bonaparte prepared at Boulogne an immense number of armed sloops for a descent upon England. Fear silenced for a time the resentment of the English aristocracy, and in March, 1802, the peace of Amiens was signed. All the continental acquisitions of France, all the republics established by her arms, were recognized. England restored the French colonies, gave Malta back to the Knights of St. John, and the Cape to the Dutch; she kept for herself only the Spanish island of Trinidad, and Ceylon.

The news of the treaty of Amiens was received in France and in England with unmixed joy. Peace seemed to be firmly established. The First Consul himself thought so, and declared his intention of devoting himself wholly to the administration of France.

Glorious Administration of Bonaparte; the Concordat (1801). — Bonaparte was now at the summit of glory. For the second time he had succeeded in bestowing upon France a glorious peace. Party spirit was appeased, and order reigned everywhere. In the interest of industry, he renewed the powerful impetus given by Colbert. The partition of the great domains which had been sold as national property had put small portions of land into a great many hands which had never before possessed any, and agriculture doubled its products. Commerce was encouraged, in spite of a high protective tariff; the finances were reorganized, the Bank of France established, the budget, for the first time in a century, was balanced, roads and bridges repaired, the arsenals filled. The Civil Code was discussed in his presence, and he elaborated the project of a powerful organization of public instruction, the University, that of a great institution of national rewards, the Legion of Honor.

A marvellous activity, an unparalleled capacity for work, made him see everything, comprehend everything, do everything. The arts and letters received from him the most earnest encouragement. A stranger to the resentments of the past ten years, he recalled the émigrés; he also recalled the priests, and signed with Pius VII. (July, 1801) the Concordat, by which he hoped to establish religious peace. By the provisions of this celebrated act, France was to be divided into ten archbishoprics and fifty bishoprics; a salary paid by the State was substituted for the former landed endowments of the clergy. The government had the regulation of public worship, the nomination of the bishops and archbishops; but to the Pope alone pertained the right of giving them canonical institution in their offices.

Thus the First Consul endeavored to efface political resentments and to unite all parties in a common feeling for the greatness of France. Moreover, while chaining the Revolution to his chariot, he nevertheless preserved its principles in his Code Civil. Unhappily, he showed more and more the temper of a master, and was every day more and more impatient of contradiction. He broke the oppo-



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sition of the Corps Législatif and the Tribunal, by eliminating those members of either body who showed themselves opposed to his government. He showed himself equally despotic in judicial proceedings. Despising such *ideologues* as Siéyès, he reserved favors and honors for those who were content to serve him well without discussion. But the despotism of the First Consul, his prompt decisions, his powerful initiative, were welcome to most, wounded few people, and men repeated with him that "France was saved from the slavery of anarchy," and congratulated her that she had found a superior genius to conduct her affairs. These sentiments of gratitude and confidence burst forth when the irreconcilables of the extreme parties attempted his assassination, especially in the case of the attempt made by the infernal machine.

The Consulate for Life (August 2, 1802). — Every one declared that France should prolong the administration of the pacifier of the continent whom these parties threatened. A short time after the peace of Amiens the people bestowed upon him the consulate for life, with the right of choosing a successor. The Constitution of the year VIII. was at the same time greatly altered. Popular rights were narrowed. The Senate obtained the right to regulate by *senatus-consulta* all that had not been already provided for by the organic laws, and to dissolve the Corps Législatif and the Tribunal. A privy council was instituted with important powers. The two other consuls remained insignificant. The organic *senatus-consultum* of the Constitution of the year X. was adopted by 3,577,259 votes out of 4,568,885.

Foreign Policy of the First Consul (1802). — The Cisalpines had already given the presidency of their government to Bonaparte; the Ligurian Republic asked him to choose its doge. The union of Piedmont to France, forming seven new departments, the occupation of the duchy of Parma and the island of Elba, were effected without opposition, but not without exciting bitter resentments. It was the inauguration of a policy which was to prove fatal to France. Switzerland was a prey to deplorable agitations. Bonaparte, called upon to act as mediator, re-established material order, and gave her a constitution, the wisdom of which was admired by all Europe (February, 1803). The French alliance with the cantons was renewed, and sixteen thousand Swiss entered the service of France. His intervention in the affairs of Germany

was equally vigorous, but in the end unfortunate for France. German diplomacy was compelled to renounce its proverbially slow processes in order to keep pace with the young conqueror. The indemnities promised the German princes who had lost their domains on the left of the Rhine were paid by secularizing the three ecclesiastical electorates. Certain imperial cities were also deprived of their ancient privileges and placed under the authority of a prince. The chaos of Germany was simplified, but a long step was taken toward the attainment of German national unity, the cause of all the misfortunes of France.

Expedition to San Domingo. — The First Consul had resolved to restore the navy and commerce of France; he was thus naturally led to the idea of restoring also her colonial empire. He first made a prudent sacrifice, selling Louisiana to the Americans for 60,000,000 francs. San Domingo had been lost to France. Excited by the events of 1789, the blacks had massacred the whites, and had lapsed into barbarism. The First Consul desired to recover the richest jewel of the old French colonial empire. He sent considerable forces, under the command of General Leclerc, his brother-in-law, against the negro general, Toussaint Louverture. The capture of this remarkable man was the only successful event of the inopportune expedition, which deeply irritated England, and which was decimated by yellow fever. The successors of Toussaint drove the French from the island, and founded the republic of Hayti (1804).

Rupture of the Peace of Amiens (1803). — England had made peace in order to put a stop to the aggrandizement of France, and France increased more during peace than in time of war. Her commerce and industry took an immense leap forward; her flag reappeared on all the seas. Moreover, she intervened with authority in the affairs of neighboring countries. England took exception to each of these acts of foreign policy; she made them a pretext for refusing to restore Malta, the key of the Mediterranean. Bonaparte demanded this restitution, a principal condition of the treaty. The English ministry replied by seizing, on the different seas, without declaration of war, twelve hundred French and Batavian ships (May, 1803). Thus hostilities recommenced. A fatal rupture, which forced Bonaparte to abandon peace for war, and which led him, and with him France, through so much glory into miseries so profound!

Conspiracies ; Death of the Duke of Enghien. — Bonaparte caused all Englishmen travelling in France to be arrested, forbade the admission of English merchandise into the French ports, garrisoned the maritime fortresses in the kingdom of Naples, and took possession of Hanover ; then he returned to the project of crossing the Straits of Dover, and conquering peace in London itself. England stirred up the whole continent to find enemies for France. She created trouble with Russia, Austria, and Sweden, sought to gain Prussia, and is said to have been a party to the conspiracy of Georges Cadoudal and Pichegru, in which Moreau was implicated. Pichegru strangled himself in prison ; Moreau was condemned to imprisonment for two years ; Cadoudal and nineteen others were condemned to death ; two only were executed with him. Moreau's sentence was remitted ; he exiled himself to the United States, and did not return till 1813.

Another tragedy preceded this. The Duke of Enghien, the last of the Condés, was carried off from the castle of Ettenheim in the grand-duchy of Baden, conducted to Vincennes, delivered over to a military commission, and the same night condemned and shot in the moat of the fortress. The duke denied that he had any knowledge of the designs of Georges, but the law touching émigrés who had borne arms against France was applied to his case (March, 1804). He was protected by the law of nations, for he had not been taken in act of war, nor upon French territory. His death was a miserable act of revenge, intended to send terror to the hearts of the Bourbons in London itself. But it had consequences greatly to be deplored. The violation of law in the end subtracts more strength than it at first appears to add. Prussia, ready to make an alliance with France, turned towards Russia, and from that day the coalition, which had been twice broken up, was renewed.

CHAPTER LXIV.

REIGN OF NAPOLEON I. TO THE PEACE OF TILSIT.

(1804-1807 A.D.)

Proclamation of the Empire (May 18, 1804).—The glorious soldier of Arcole and of Rivoli had become the first general of the Republic, then its First Consul for ten years, then First Consul for life. He desired that his power should be made hereditary. France was not disposed to haggle over one more title with him who had bestowed upon her such glory and security. The Tribune moved that Bonaparte be appointed hereditary emperor. The Senate proclaimed him under the name of Napoleon I., and the people ratified, by 3,572,329 votes against 2569, the establishment of a new dynasty, which, born of the Revolution, should preserve its principles.

Organic Senatus-Consultum of the Year XII.—A senatus-consultum modified the consular constitution. Heredity was established in favor of the descendants of Napoleon, in the male line, or of his adopted sons. If he had no descendants, natural or adopted, the crown was to pass to the descendants of Joseph, and failing this, to those of Louis, two brothers of the new Emperor. Absolute authority over the imperial family was bestowed upon the Emperor. His brothers and sisters became princes and princesses. The new throne was surrounded by a new aristocracy, richly endowed and bearing imposing titles. First there were the great dignitaries of the Empire, who were: the grand elector (Joseph Bonaparte), charged with formal duties; the arch-chancellor of the Empire (Cambacérès), with a general supervision of the judiciary; the arch-chancellor of State for diplomacy; the arch-treasurer (Lebrun); the constable (Louis Bonaparte); and the high admiral.

Below these six great dignitaries were, first, sixteen marshals of the Empire, of whom fourteen were immediately appointed: Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Brune, Berthier, Lannes, Ney, Murat, Bessière, Moncey, Mortier, Soult,

Davout, and Bernadotte. There were besides four honorary marshals, who, being senators, were not to be in active service: of these, Kellermann was one. The inspectors-general of artillery, of engineers, and of the navy, the colonels-general of the cuirassiers, hussars, chasseurs, and dragoons, close the list of the great military officials. That of the great civil officers comprised Cardinal Fesch, uncle of Napoleon, grand almoner; Talleyrand, grand chamberlain; Berthier, grand huntsman; Caulaincourt, grand equerry; Duroc, grand marshal of the palace. A grand master of ceremonies, the Count of Ségur, was charged with teaching the new court the customs of the old. The Senate, composed of eighty co-optative members, the six great dignitaries, the French princes, and citizens appointed by the Emperor, preserved the prerogatives which the Constitution of the year X. had bestowed upon it. The Corps Législatif voted upon the laws without discussing them. The Tribunal became useless and was suppressed in 1807.

The new constitution was, in its external forms, still representative: in reality it was absolute: for it is not the wheel-work which gives force to a machine; it is the power which the human will expends upon it. Now, in 1804, the will of France was with Napoleon: she abdicated in favor of an extraordinary genius, who, until then, had used his power only to render her service, and who could render still further service by defending the Revolution against the resentments of England and the old monarchies of the continent. But the abdication was too complete. Napoleon, in the days of his prosperity, found no one to contradict him in the Senate, in the Corps Législatif, in the aristocracy with which he surrounded himself: would he find among them all any to support him in the days of his misfortune?

The Coronation (December 2, 1804); **Legion of Honor.** — Napoleon had resolved to astonish France and the world by an imposing ceremony. He obtained from the Pope what neither king nor emperor had hitherto done, — that he should himself come to Paris to crown the new Charlemagne (December 2, 1804). Pius VII. anointed the Emperor; but when he was about to take up the crown and place it on the Emperor's head, Napoleon seized it and crowned himself, and afterwards the Empress.

The creating of a new aristocracy was deferred for a time. But Napoleon had already instituted the Legion of Honor,

a system of national rewards, for the scholar, the industrial leader, and the soldier who should deserve well of his country by his work, his activity, and his courage. On the 14th of July, 1804, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, Napoleon distributed the grand decorations of the order to the principal personages of his Empire. On the 16th of August he distributed the cross of the Legion of Honor among the soldiers of the camp of Boulogne. This was a great military festival, such as the world had never before seen. A hundred thousand men, the heroes of twenty battles, ranged themselves at the foot of the imperial throne, which was erected upon a natural elevation which sloped gradually to the seashore. Thence could be seen the ocean, the English fleet barring the Channel, and, in the distance, veiled by the fog, that England upon which all were panting to descend, and to which a fair wind and six hours of good fortune would conduct them.

Napoleon King of Italy. — The Italian Republic, constituted upon the model of the French Republic, underwent the very same vicissitudes. Italy, left to herself, was not able either to defend herself or to become united. Each great city insisting upon having its own independent life, the result was that there was no common or national life. That unity which Italy now enjoys was prepared for her under the friendly and intelligent tutelage of France. Many Italians comprehended this, and when the Empire was proclaimed at Paris, royalty was also proclaimed at Milan (March, 1805). Napoleon offered the crown of Italy to his brother Joseph, who refused it. He then took it himself. Eugène Beauharnais, the son of the Empress Josephine, was sent to Milan as viceroy.

Thus Napoleon was Emperor and king of Italy: as mediator of the Helvetian Confederation, he had the Swiss already under his influence, and Swiss regiments in his army. Austerlitz was to make him protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He would then have very nearly reconstructed the empire of Charlemagne; a greatness which brought about his ruin and nearly caused the ruin of France.

The Camp of Boulogne. — The continent kept silence in the face of the revolution which had just placed two crowns on the head of a soldier. England alone braved his anger, behind her Channel; but Napoleon, having no other enemy, was able to apply all the immense resources of his genius

to the project of the invasion of England. Gunboats and transports had been constructed in every available place, equipped, armed, and brought to the Straits of Dover. Twelve or thirteen hundred of them were to be concentrated at Boulogne and in the neighboring ports; one hundred and fifty thousand men were stationed in the vicinity. Numerous batteries of the heaviest ordnance protected them. From the beginning of the winter of 1803 the preparations were sufficiently advanced, the sailors and soldiers sufficiently drilled, for Napoleon to be able to fix upon a time for the descent; but the conspiracy of Cadoudal interposed a brief delay.

There were many ways of crossing the Strait, of which the best was through a combination which should bring into the Channel, were it only for a few hours, a superior French fleet. Napoleon, with great secrecy and marvellous skill, planned such a combination. Admiral Villeneuve, leaving Toulon with all the forces of that port, was to combine with his own fleet, as he passed along, the Spanish squadron at Cadiz, to sail to the Antilles and draw Nelson thither; then suddenly turning towards Europe, and, combining with his own the squadron of Ferrol and that of Brest, to enter the Channel with a fleet of fifty vessels, which would remain master of the Strait long enough to enable the flotilla to cross with one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, and change the destinies of the world.

At first all succeeded as had been hoped; Nelson was deceived. Villeneuve returned to Europe; but he allowed himself to be stopped off Cape Finistère by a battle with an English admiral, and then returned to repair his damages at Cadiz, where he was soon blockaded. At the moment of the failure of this magnificent plan Napoleon learned that English gold had formed a new coalition. Raging with disappointment, he commenced the immortal campaign of 1805.

Campaign of 1805; Capitulation of Ulm.—Four attacks upon the Empire had been prepared: the Swedes and Russians were to advance by way of Hanover; the Russians and Austrians by the valley of the Danube; the Austrians alone through Lombardy; the Russians, the English, and the Neapolitans through Southern Italy. Of these four armies, Napoleon neglected two; he neutralized a third by charging Masséna to stop the Archduke Charles on the

Adige, and reserved all his blows for the fourth, an army of eighty thousand men, whom General Mack was conducting through Bavaria and Swabia, towards the defiles of the Black Forest and the banks of the Rhine, through which he expected that the French would pass. But Napoleon turned the Black Forest, and, repeating the marvel of Marengo, fell upon Mack's rear, cut him off from Vienna, surrounded him and besieged him in Ulm. The great army had entered Germany on September 25; on the 19th of October the Austrians capitulated. In three weeks an army of eighty thousand men had disappeared. Fifty thousand had been taken or killed; two hundred cannons, eighty flags, captured. And these magnificent results had been achieved simply by combinations inspired by genius, and almost without loss.

Trafalgar (October 21). — At this point the news of a great maritime defeat arrived to dismay the Emperor. Admiral Villeneuve, fighting against Nelson, lost the bloody battle of Trafalgar, which cost the combined fleet of France and Spain eighteen ships and seven thousand men. The English lost three thousand killed, of whom Nelson alone was more to be regretted than a whole army. This defeat was the irrevocable condemnation of the imperial navy, and Napoleon, despairing of fighting hand to hand with England, resolved more firmly to ruin his inaccessible enemy by closing the continent against him.

Battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805). — Meantime Napoleon hastened his march upon Vienna, now exposed. He entered it on November 13, and found himself still between two armies; that of the Tyrol and Italy, driven back by Ney and Masséna, and the great Russian and Austrian army, with the two emperors, which occupied Moravia. He hastened to meet the latter, crossed the Danube with sixty-five thousand men, and found ninety thousand Russians and Austrians drawn up on the heights of Austerlitz. Their commanders had conceived a magnificent plan, — to turn the right wing of the French, to cut them off from Vienna and their reserves, and afterwards crush them. But Napoleon, penetrating their designs, allured them into an attack on his right wing, and then, when they were thus fully engaged at one side, and, masters of the villages, believed that they had decided the fate of the day, threw twenty-five thousand men forward, upon a plateau in the centre,

which was the key of the whole position, destroying the Russian imperial guard which was defending it, cut the enemy's army in two, and turning upon the three divisions sent to turn the French right, cut them to pieces with grape-shot, drove them upon the ice of the ponds which surrounded the plain, and broke the ice with cannon-balls under the feet of thousands of Russians, who were thus swallowed up and perished. Lannes, at the same time, on the left, had completely repulsed the enemy's cavalry and thrown it into confusion. The enemy lost fifteen thousand killed, ten thousand prisoners, two hundred and eighty cannons. The two emperors fled; the emperor of Austria asked an interview with Napoleon at the outposts; an armistice was agreed upon. Prussia, which had been on the point of aiding the emperors, now, alarmed, hastened to deny her intentions and treated with Napoleon. In order to estrange her permanently from England, he offered her Hanover, in exchange for Cleves, Wesel, and Neuchâtel.

Treaty of Pressburg; Confederation of the Rhine.—Austria concluded peace, December 26, at Pressburg. She gave up the Venetian States, Istria, and Dalmatia, which Napoleon united to the kingdom of Italy, the Tyrol and Austrian Swabia, which he gave to the dukes of Bavaria and Württemberg, who took the title of King; Austria lost 4,000,000 subjects out of 24,000,000, all control over Italy, and all influence over Switzerland. The treaty of Pressburg gave France the most magnificent position. Prussia had withdrawn from the Rhine; Austria had been driven out of Italy. The old German Empire, created by Charlemagne, was dissolved after ten centuries of existence. Francis II. abdicated the title of Emperor of Germany, and took that of Emperor of Austria. Many of the little German states were suppressed. The most powerful princes of Western and Central Germany united, under the protection of France, in a new federal state called the Confederation of the Rhine. It was a benefit to Germany and to Europe to establish, between three great military states, this Confederation which prevented their frontiers from touching.

The Vassals of Napoleon; New Nobility.—But already Napoleon had thoughts of still wider aggrandizement. He drove the Bourbons from Naples, and completed the system of the Empire by surrounding it with vassal monarchies and

feudal principalities. Joseph Bonaparte was made king of Naples and Sicily; Louis, king of Holland; Eliza, sister of Napoleon, became Duchess of Lucca; the beautiful Pauline Borghese, another of his sisters, was made Duchess of Guastalla; Murat, the husband of Caroline Bonaparte, Grand-duke of Berg; Berthier, Prince of Neuchâtel; Talleyrand, of Benevento; Bernadotte, the brother-in-law of Joseph, of Ponte-Corvo. He reserved for himself in the various Italian states nineteen duchies, and distributed them among his companions in arms and his most devoted followers. In these duchies, all constituted outside of France so as not to wound the national feeling of equality, a portion of the public revenue was bestowed upon the titular duke, but without any political power. Finally, in order to have rewards for all ranks, he retained large portions of the national property in the different states of Italy, and later in Poland, Hanover, and Westphalia. He thus had means with which to distribute rich donations among his generals, ministers, and soldiers. Every general or colonel had something to look forward to. A new nobility, of an entirely plebeian origin, but which had found its patents of nobility on the field of battle, was formed around the crowned soldier. This was a deviation from the principle of equality; but Napoleon granted to this new nobility no privilege, no advantage over other citizens save its titles and its honors.

Prussian Campaign (1806).—The battle of Austerlitz had killed William Pitt, and Fox had succeeded him as minister. Napoleon, on learning of this, hoped to bring England to terms of peace. Unhappily, Fox died, and the power again fell into the hands of the partisans of uncompromising war. Meanwhile rumors of a restitution to England of Hanover, which Napoleon had recently promised to Prussia, threw the court of Berlin into a state of anxiety which led to the most senseless resolutions. Napoleon really desired the alliance of Prussia, but the Prussian court inspired him with neither esteem nor confidence. The Emperor had thoroughly penetrated its hostile designs at the time of Austerlitz. Later, Prussia, thinking that peace with England would be made only at her expense, rushed heedlessly into the most extreme peril. At Berlin the Austrian army was spoken of only with scorn; it was said that the Prussian army was still made up of the soldiers of Rossbach, and that the victories which Napoleon had won

over incapable generals would come to an end when he had to confront the old Duke of Brunswick, the pupil of the great Frederick. The beautiful and romantic Queen Louise fostered the delusion. A new coalition was formed. Prussia promised two armies which were a three-month's march distant, England promised supplies, Sweden her feeble support. Napoleon set out from Paris on September 26. The grand army, one hundred and thirty thousand incomparable soldiers, was still cantoned in Germany. In a few days he concentrated it at Bamberg, and on the 8th of October it was in motion. Two Prussian armies had crossed the Elbe and were manœuvring behind the Thuringian forest. Napoleon again repeated the manœuvre of Marengo and Ulm; he turned their left flank and placed himself between their armies and the Elbe, which was their line of retreat.

Jena and Auerstädt (October 14, 1806).—Already the greatest confusion reigned in the Prussian army. The remembrance of the capitulation of Ulm excited much anxiety. The old Duke of Brunswick was dismayed at the idea of ending his military career as Mack had done. When Napoleon threatened to cross the Saale, the duke resolved to retreat toward Magdeburg and the lower Elbe, but it was too late; none ever escaped, who came so near Napoleon. Prince Hohenlohe, surprised at Jena, lost in a few hours twelve thousand killed and wounded, fifteen thousand prisoners, and twelve hundred pieces of cannon.

While Napoleon was gaining this overwhelming victory, a memorable battle was fought, four miles off, at Auerstädt, by Marshal Davout. With twenty-six thousand men, Davout was guarding the Saale, under orders to hold this post to the last extremity, when the Duke of Brunswick arrived with sixty thousand Prussians, to cross. Davout refused to retreat. Fifteen thousand Prussian cavalry, reputed to be the best in Europe, twenty times charged the French squares, but not one was broken: then the squares, in their turn deploying in columns of attack, broke through the enemy's infantry, threw them into disorder, and forced them to retreat. The Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded; ten thousand men were killed and wounded; one hundred and fifteen pieces of cannon were left in the hands of Davout, who had himself only forty-four pieces.

The two Prussian armies fled in terrible disorder. The French corps, particularly Murat's cavalry, dashed forward

in pursuit, crossed the Elbe, and hastened to the Oder, in order to arrive there before the Prussians. Prince Hohenlohe was forced to surrender at Prenzlau, Blücher at Lübeck. Of the one hundred and sixty thousand men who went into the campaign, twenty-five thousand were either killed or wounded, one hundred thousand taken prisoners, and thirty-five thousand scattered; not a man of them recrossed the Oder. All the fortresses on the Elbe and the Oder were occupied by the French. In a month (October 8–November 8) the Prussian monarchy had ceased to exist. Napoleon entered Potsdam and Berlin.

The Continental Blockade (1806).—Austerlitz had put Napoleon in possession of the whole of Italy and the Adriatic; that is, of half of the European coast of the Mediterranean; alliance with Spain and Turkey gave him the rest. Jena assured him of the coasts of the North Sea and a part of those of the Baltic; by advancing one step more he could close the whole continent against English commerce, and thus reduce to terms the inaccessible insular power. He resolved to march from the Oder to the Vistula, and occupy the mouths of all the great European rivers. And as England had proclaimed the blockade of all the coast from Brest to Hamburg, interdicting the approach of neutral ships, he issued, on the 21st of November, the famous Berlin Decree, which declared the British Isles themselves in a state of blockade. Consequently all commerce with the isles was interdicted, and English merchandise, wherever found, was confiscated. In this battle of the giants the interests of the smaller states disappeared, and the law of nations was trodden under foot by both parties. But in order that this system should succeed, it was necessary that not one port of the continent should remain open. After having closed those of Prussia it was necessary to close those of Russia also; that is, to make one's self master everywhere. The continental blockade was a gigantic engine of warfare which would surely bring death to one of the two adversaries: it in fact killed Napoleon.

Eylau (February 3, 1807).—On the 28th of November Murat entered Warsaw; Napoleon arrived there in December, but did not, as he had had some intention of doing, re-establish the kingdom of Poland. Already one hundred and twenty thousand Russians were on the Narew, an eastern branch of the Vistula. Napoleon attacked them in a

series of engagements, which cost them twenty thousand men and eighty pieces of cannon. But from the nature of the country he could not follow up his advantages. He was obliged to halt and go into winter quarters, admirably arranged in front of the Vistula. The Russian generalissimo, Bennigsen, deceived by the Emperor's arrangements, attempted to surprise the French cantonments. But Ney arrested his advance, and, as he retreated, followed him and obliged him to halt at Eylau and fight a great battle. The Russians had seventy-two thousand men engaged, the Emperor had only fifty-four thousand, worn out by fatigue and suffering from hunger. It was the 8th of February; a thick snow covered the ground, gusts of wind and whirls of snow drove into the faces of the soldiers. The battle began with a terrible cannonade. Then Augereau's corps attacked the enemy's centre. But the Russians unmasked a battery of seventy-two pieces which in a few moments cut down four thousand Frenchmen. This corps fell back upon Eylau; the enemy followed, but was finally driven back by Murat's cavalry and the imperial guard, after a desperate struggle. Meanwhile Davout and Ney were coming up on the wings; Bennigsen, reduced to forty thousand men, determined to retreat. He had lost thirty thousand men, killed, severely wounded, or captured; the French, ten thousand. This frightful butchery was not such a victory as Napoleon was in the habit of gaining; it was considered almost a defeat.

Friedland (June 14, 1807).—The grand army then returned to its cantonments. Danzig was forced to capitulate in May, and Silesia was conquered. The summer campaign was short and decisive. The army left its cantonments on the 1st of June. On the 5th, the Russian generalissimo attacked the extreme right under Ney, but was out-generalled by Napoleon, driven backward and overtaken at Friedland on the road to Königsberg, which he was trying to cover. Lannes, with twenty-six thousand men against eighty-two thousand, held him in check until the Emperor arrived with the rest of the army. It was the anniversary of Marengo. The Emperor, appearing to give battle all along the line, but in reality only fighting on the right, threw Ney upon Friedland, which he captured after a brilliant engagement. Then the centre and left wing engaged, forced the Russians to fall back upon the river Alle, and drove them into it. Eighty cannons were left in the hands

of the French, twenty-five thousand Russians were killed, wounded, or drowned; the rest fled in the greatest disorder. Königsberg, the last city left to the king of Prussia, surrendered; immense quantities of provisions were found there, and one hundred thousand muskets sent by England.

Peace of Tilsit (July 8, 1807). — Disgusted with a war in which Austria, Prussia, and Russia lost their provinces, their arms, and their honor, while England alone gained, the emperor Alexander consented to hold an interview with Napoleon upon a raft anchored in the Niemen at Tilsit. After long and intimate conferences between the two sovereigns, the treaty of Tilsit was signed on July 8, 1807. The Emperor restored to the king of Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, old Prussia, and Silesia, with the exception of Danzig, which was declared a free city, and Magdeburg, which was left in the hands of the French. Of Hesse-Cassel and the Prussian possessions west of the Elbe, he formed the kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome; of the Polish provinces of Prussia, he formed the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the king of Saxony. The two new states entered into the Confederation of the Rhine.

These were only half-way measures. Prussia was either too much weakened, or not sufficiently so. She could no longer be a useful ally for France. She remained at heart an implacable enemy. Saxony, united to the grand-duchy of Warsaw, would not form a state capable of maintaining its existence. The new kingdom of Westphalia was better planned, but would have little importance. Ruins can never be used as props, and from the Rhine to the Niemen Napoleon strewed only the ruins of states. The statesman was not the equal of the general. The intoxication of success was beginning to dazzle this strong mind. Austria and Prussia had refused him their alliance, and he had overcome them; he tried to gain the alliance of Russia, by offering to divide the world with Alexander. He abandoned Finland to him, and suggested a hope of his being permitted to acquire the Danubian provinces of Turkey. In return he obtained the Bocche di Cattaro and the Ionian Isles; he received the promise of a rigorous application of the continental blockade on the part of Prussia and Russia, and *carte blanche* for all changes that he might choose to make in the West. Thus the year 1807 marked the apogee of the greatness of Napoleon.

The Code Civil; the University.—On his return from Marengo, the First Consul had charged a commission of four jurisconsults to prepare a draft of a code, for which the preceding assemblies had prepared the material. This great work was finished in four months. After revision by all the judicial courts, by the section of legislation in the Council of State, and by the Tribunate, it came back to the Council, where, under the presidency of the First Consul, it was subjected to rigid scrutiny. He animated all by his enthusiasm; he astonished the old jurisconsults by the profundity of his views, and especially by his perfect good sense, which for making good laws is worth more than all the science of the legists. Thus was elaborated that codification of the law of the family and of property which the Corps Législatif adopted in its session of 1804, and which deservedly received, three years later, the name of *Code Napoléon*. This Code was completed successively, by the adoption, in 1806, of the Code of Civil Procedure; in 1807, of the Code of Commerce; in 1810, of the Code of Criminal Procedure and of the Penal Code.

Napoleon also endeavored to introduce order and State control into education. He created twenty-nine lycées, in which the instruction should be at once literary, scientific, and moral. Sixty-four hundred scholarships, representing an annual expenditure of 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 fr., were provided. The private schools were compelled besides to send their pupils to the lectures at these lycées. Thus the State resumed the direction of secondary instruction. For primary instruction, unfortunately, little was done. For higher and special instruction, Napoleon created ten schools of law and six of medicine. The *École Polytechnique* was already in existence; the First Consul added the *École des Ponts et Chaussées* for the education of engineers, and that of *Fontainebleau* for the training of officers. In 1804 he organized the University of France.

Public Works.—At the same time a strict and skilful management of the public finances enabled him to undertake immense public works in all parts of the country. Water was supplied to quarters of Paris where there had been none. The canal from Nantes to Brest and that from the Rhine to the Rhone were dug. At Cherbourg he threw a mountain in the sea, in order to have a spacious and safe harbor in the Channel. At Antwerp, he constructed quays,

an arsenal, and basins which could hold a whole fleet of war. He cut roads through La Vendée, which opened it to commerce and modern ideas. The fine roads of the Simplon, Mont Cenis, and Mt. Genève, and that from Metz to Mainz were finished. Imposing and useful monuments decorated the great cities: at Paris, the Madeleine, the colossal Arc de l'Étoile, the graceful Arc de Triomphe in the Carrousel, the column of the Place Vendôme; and other constructions at Lyons, Bordeaux, and Milan. He finished the Pantheon, or Sainte-Genève, the palace of the Corps Législatif, and the Louvre; he repaired St. Denis, projected the Bourse, constructed the abattoirs, the granary, etc.

Industry and Commerce.—Industry received the most active encouragements: he promised magnificent rewards to inventors; he offered a million to him who would invent a machine for spinning flax. He promised another to the scientist who should make it possible to substitute beet roots for cane in the manufacture of sugar; he pensioned Jacquart, the inventor of the Jacquart loom for silk weaving; he with his own hand decorated Richard Lenoir for his cotton-spinning machines; he established a school of arts and trades at Compiègne. There had only been 310 exhibitors at the exposition of 1798; there were 1422 in 1806. Commerce by sea was reduced to nothing; but the inland trade of France was immense. The unrivalled silk manufactures of France, and other manufactures, now that English competition was restricted, found markets over the whole continent.

Letters and Arts.—The glory of letters was not wanting during this reign; but the principal writers were in the opposition: Chateaubriand, Madame de Staël, Cabanis, Maine de Biran, Chénier, Ducis, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, and de Maistre.

The arts were in a state of brilliant development. David, in order to rescue them from the enervating insipidity of the eighteenth century, had led the French school back to the fruitful study of antiquity. If his pupils, by exaggerating the defects of their master, painted as though they were sculpturing, and gave their figures and their draperies the stiffness of military costumes, a few of them, Gros at their head, began a reaction against that cold and academic style, by adding the study of nature to that of rules. The sciences, with Laplace, Lagrange, Monge, Haüy, Cuvier,

Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, and Gay-Lussac, made a marvellous advance. Napoleon, who retained upon the throne the title of member of the Institute, treated the savants better than Louis XIV. treated the poets. He was on terms of real friendship with some of them.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE EMPIRE, FROM 1807 TO 1812.

Feudatory Kingdoms. — It has already been seen that the Emperor tried to obtain external support by surrounding the Empire with feudatory kingdoms. The kingdom of Naples, under Joseph, and that of Italy, under Eugène de Beauharnais as viceroy, the Helvetian Confederation, of which Napoleon was mediator, the Confederation of the Rhine, of which he was protector, the kingdom of Holland, under Louis Bonaparte, and that of Westphalia, under Jerome, covered the whole frontier of his Empire on the northeast, east, and southeast. To the south Napoleon had nothing upon which he could depend. A degenerate branch of the house of Bourbon reigned at Madrid under the protection of a favorite, Godoy, who pursued a double policy toward France. Napoleon, on his return from Tilsit, determined by some means or other to bind the peninsula to his policy.

Conquest of Portugal (November, 1807); **Naval Armaments.** — He resolved first to drive the English out of Portugal, and offered to divide that kingdom with the court of Madrid. An army, commanded by Junot, crossed Spain and entered Lisbon without striking a blow. At the same time the Russians conquered Finland, and England bombarded Copenhagen for the purpose of capturing the Danish fleet and destroying the Danish arsenal. This odious act caused Denmark to join in the continental blockade, as did Austria also; Portugal had already joined it. From the extremity of the Baltic to the Straits of Gibraltar all the ports of the continent were closed against the English. At the same time, in all the ports, immense marine armaments were being prepared; the flotilla of Boulogne was reorganized. This time the whole continent sided with France. England was saved only by a mistake of Napoleon, — his intervention in Spain.

Rupture with the Pope (April, 1808). — Contentions began with Pius VII. on the subject of the continental block-

ade. The Pope tried to escape from the measures imposed upon all the states of the continent, refused to recognize Joseph as king of Naples, and constantly opposed the policy of France in Italy. Finally, Napoleon occupied Rome in April, 1808. Later he abolished the temporal dominion of the Pope, organized Rome and the surrounding country into two French departments, and held the pontiff in an honorable captivity at Savona. But he was only weakened by these measures, for a formidable opposition was at once organized against him among the clergy and the French Catholics. The great services he had rendered the Church were forgotten; the author of the Concordat was looked upon only in the light of a persecutor of the sovereign pontiff.

Invasion of Spain (1808). — The intervention of the Emperor in Spain had still graver consequences. The court of Madrid was greatly divided. Godoy ruled the king and queen, but was odious to the Prince of the Asturias and to the whole nation. An illness of Charles IV. determined the queen and Godoy to seek for an opportunity to deprive the heir presumptive of the throne; the latter defended himself by counter-plots. Both parties invoked the aid of Napoleon. His first plan was to persuade them to fly to Spanish America, as the house of Braganza had fled to Brazil. But at this point a revolt forced Charles IV. to abdicate in favor of his son, Ferdinand VII. Murat was already with an army near Madrid; he entered the city and persuaded the old king to go and have an interview with Napoleon at Bayonne. Ferdinand also went thither. Completely in the power of Napoleon, they were intimidated or seduced into abdicating in favor of the Emperor. Joseph Bonaparte gave up his crown of Naples to Murat and was made king of Spain, and a new constitution for the kingdom was promulgated.

In all this affair Napoleon had played a part which was advantageous neither to his character, his power, nor his glory. He desired to cause it to be forgotten by reason of the great services which he hoped to render to Spain by regenerating her. But while official Spain hastened into the presence of the new king, the people rebelled. The insurrection burst forth everywhere at once, with patriotic fury. Religious passion united with political passion to stir up the fire. The monks preached the war as a crusade. The movement soon became formidable; all the provinces rose in revolt. French couriers, and even the sick and

wounded, were slain. Joseph with difficulty reached Madrid. At Saragossa and Valencia the French troops were repulsed, and in Andalusia Dupont was surrounded at Baylen and forced to capitulate (July 20th).

This was the first reverse which Napoleon had sustained. The English immediately hastened to appear, and General Wellesley gained over Junot the battle of Vimeiro, which lost Portugal to the French. By September, 1808, they possessed in the whole peninsula only the provinces north of the Ebro. After an interview with Alexander at Erfurt, at which, by giving Russia Moldavia and Wallachia, he apparently secured the tranquillity of Central Europe, Napoleon was free to hasten to Spain. He already had one hundred thousand men there; he took from the grand army one hundred and fifty thousand of his valiant soldiers, and with them crossed the mountains. Nothing could withstand him; the enemy's centre was broken up, and the army entered Madrid, where Napoleon decreed the suppression of the Inquisition, of two-thirds of the convents, of feudal rights, and of internal custom-houses. On the left wing, Saint Cyr carried on a brilliant campaign in Catalonia. On the right, Soult drove thirty thousand English as far as Coruña, and compelled them to take refuge on board their ships.

Abensberg and Eckmühl (April, 1809). — But Napoleon was now called elsewhere, and the danger of this new enterprise became apparent. Austria, seeing him occupied in a terrible war in the Iberian peninsula, thought that the moment had come to avenge her disasters. England offered her 100,000,000 fr.; the Czar Alexander's enthusiasm for Napoleon seemed to grow cold; Germany, heavily taxed and stirred up by secret societies, became hostile, and the grand army, diminished by one hundred and fifty thousand men, was scattered from Hamburg to Naples. A bold offensive promised success, and success promised a general revolt. One hundred and seventy-five thousand Austrians, under the Archduke Charles, advanced slowly upon Bavaria. Napoleon, warned in forty-eight hours by means of the semaphore, left Paris on the 13th of April, and arrived on the 17th upon the scene of action. Already the archduke was manœuvring to throw his forces into the open space between Masséna and Davout. Napoleon promptly seized the central position himself, and summoned the two marshals to join him at once. Then, with his forces concentrated, he

charged the enemy's centre, cut it in two by the battle of Abensberg on the 20th, and by the capture of Landshut on the 21st; on the following day he fell upon the right of the Austrians, overcame them at Eckmühl, drove them back upon the Danube, and nearly captured their whole body. In five days of fighting Napoleon had taken sixty thousand men, one hundred pieces of cannon, cut the Austrian army in two, thrown the right wing into Bohemia, the left on the Inn, and conquered the route to Vienna. On the 10th of May, one month after the commencement of hostilities, he was before that capital, which, after a brief bombardment, opened its gates to him.

Aspern, or Essling (May 21 and 22, 1809). — Austria had still two armies: that of Italy, under the Archduke John, which had, upon learning of the victories of Napoleon, fallen back into Hungary; and that of the Archduke Charles, who found himself still at the head of one hundred thousand men in front of Vienna, but on the other side of the Danube. Napoleon turned against the latter. The passage of a great river in the face of a powerful army is a difficult operation. In this case the difficulties were increased by a sudden rise in the river, which carried away the French bridges when only a part of the army had crossed. For thirty hours the archduke made vain efforts to throw the French into the Danube: the gardens and houses of Aspern were captured and recaptured fourteen times. The archduke stopped first, and the French soldiers retired to the island of Lobau in the river. There were neither conquerors nor conquered. But more than forty thousand men, of whom twenty-seven thousand were Austrians, had been killed or wounded. Napoleon's battles were becoming more and more sanguinary.

Wagram (July 6, 1809). — The Emperor fortified himself in the island of Lobau. There was danger that the Archduke John might rejoin the Archduke Charles, and that the two might then surround him. The whole of the Tyrol was in revolt; the German nationality, which had been long trampled upon, began to arise. Only one reverse was necessary to cause an explosion. But Napoleon, on the 5th of July, crossed over successfully from the island of Lobau, with one hundred and fifty thousand men and five hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. At the break of day the French army found itself established on the enemy's left. The Austrians fell back upon the heights of Wagram. Next day

the archduke tried to turn the left wing of the French line, but was repulsed by Masséna. After a tremendous cannonade upon the enemy's centre, Macdonald was hurled upon it, attacked it, and forced it to fall back. At the same time Davout and Oudinot, on the right, carried the heights of Wagram. The Archduke Charles sounded a retreat. He had lost twenty-four thousand killed and wounded, twelve thousand prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. The French had seven thousand killed and eleven thousand wounded. This was not an overwhelming victory like those of Ulm, Austerlitz, and Jena; but Napoleon had no longer the same troops. A great many young soldiers and many foreigners had filled up the vacancies left in the grand army by the corps which had been sent into Spain, and with these inexperienced troops bold strokes would have involved too great risks. The Austrian army nevertheless fled, conquered and unable to rally or hold its ground. An armistice was signed first, at Znaim, on the 11th of July; the treaty of Vienna, on the 14th of October. Austria lost, by this treaty, 3,400,000 souls, whom Napoleon and his allies divided among themselves, France acquiring in Illyria the largest share.

Events in Spain; Flushing (1809).—Meanwhile the war had continued in Spain, spreading itself through all the provinces. There were three hundred thousand Frenchmen in Spain; but Napoleon was not there: the jealousies of his marshals hindered all concert of action. The most celebrated affair was the memorable and desperate defence of Saragossa. Yet little advantage was taken of this victory. An expedition of Soult into Portugal failed completely, Ney evacuated Galicia; and though Wellesley was defeated at Talavera, the campaign was still a failure.

The English seized upon Flushing in August, 1809, and threatened the great arsenal of Antwerp. The national guards of the neighboring departments threw themselves into the town; fever decimated the forty-five thousand Englishmen who had landed in the island of Walcheren. Flushing had to be abandoned, and the greatest maritime armament of the century resulted in utter failure.

Effect of these Last Events.—Up to the treaty of Tilsit Napoleon had constantly advanced in glory and power. But a desire had then begun to be felt that the glorious flight of the imperial eagles should be arrested. The spolia-

tion of the Bourbons of Spain, the captivity of the Holy Father, caused the first disquietudes; the war with Spain and that with Austria increased them. Behind the regular armies and old governments which France had hitherto fought the people now arose. In Spain insurrection had paralyzed the efforts of immense forces; in Germany it had broken out in twenty different places; and at Schönbrunn, in the midst of his army, Napoleon had narrowly escaped being assassinated by a member of the Tugendbund. The battle of Essling caused alarm to many. These symptoms doubtless did not escape the penetrating eye of Napoleon. But, accustomed to success, he no longer took account of difficulties, and believed that nothing could withstand his power.

Marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa (April 1, 1810).

—The marriage of Napoleon with Josephine had been without issue. The Emperor earnestly desired to have an heir of his own blood. He therefore resolved to contract another marriage. The glorious parvenu of the Revolution, the elected chief of a great people, demanded entrance into the family of kings. He believed that he could bind Austria to his cause by a marriage, and asked of the proud Hapsburgs the hand of one of their daughters, the Archduchess Maria Louisa. An unfortunate union; for in France the new empress was never popular, while among her own people she was regarded as a victim sacrificed for the house of Austria. In the eyes of many persons the divorce of Napoleon from Josephine Beauharnais, the gracious and devoted companion of his earlier years, was a divorce from good fortune.

Birth of the King of Rome. — The year 1810 passed without any war except that with Spain. On the 20th of March, 1811, a son was born to the Emperor, and was immediately proclaimed king of Rome. Many now believed that the powers would no longer oppose the Empire, since a descendant of the house of Hapsburg would be heir to it. It was said that Napoleon, having reached mature age and having to watch over the heritage of his son, would now occupy himself with smoothing the way for him, and would govern as a father instead of governing by strokes of genius. But there was no lack of people who in the midst of this grandeur saw the causes of ruin ferment and increase. Among them was Wellington (Wellesley). The year 1811, indeed, had not passed, before Napoleon began preparations for the rashest of his enterprises, — the expedition into Russia.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE EMPIRE FROM 1812 TO 1814.

Condition of Europe in 1810. — No other generation of men had ever seen what those men saw who lived from 1789 to 1811: new ideas profoundly moving the world; miseries and unparalleled grandeur; a nation of soldiers; armies more successful than the Roman legions; war marked by incomparable combinations and results; and finally, to apply these ideas, to direct these formidable forces, a man gifted with the most powerful genius that nature had ever formed. Moreover, within twenty years old Europe had been overturned, even to its foundations. The dynasty of Bourbon, but lately seated upon four thrones, now retained only one, and that tottering and menaced, in Sicily; that of Braganza was exiled to Brazil; that of Savoy banished to Sardinia; those of Orange, Hesse, Brunswick, and twenty others despoiled. The duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany; the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Holland; the States of the Church, the German Empire, no longer existed. The monarchy of Frederick the Great had been broken up; only a fragment still existed; that of Maria Theresa, humiliated by twenty defeats, was cut off from Italy and the sea. New states had come into existence. There were kings of Italy and Holland, of Westphalia, Württemberg, and Saxony; a Confederation of the Rhine to balance Prussia and Austria; a Swiss Confederation established on a better basis than the old; a grand-duchy of Warsaw.

In these new states social regeneration was carried on as well as political regeneration; Naples, Milan, Warsaw, Holland, Westphalia, and Bavaria had French constitutions, codes, and systems of administration. Sweden asked for a French king. Spain, even, adopted the principles of 1789 in her constitution of 1812. Austria granted her people local franchises, abolished serfdom, admitted civil equality, and no longer confined the rank of officer to the nobility. England herself caught the moral contagion.

Thus the French Revolution—that is to say, a new social order, founded upon justice, and not upon privilege—began “to make the tour of the world.” But such changes could not take place without causing great convulsions. The powers of the past, trodden under foot by the victorious Revolution, did not resign themselves to their defeat. So long as France seemed to conquer only to bestow upon the conquered countries juster laws and better administration, the people were on her side. But soon the struggle assumed such proportions that all was sacrificed, liberty as well as justice, to the one thought of victory. The English suppressed the freedom of the ocean; Napoleon suppressed the independence of the continent, and by the continental blockade, by the interruption of commerce, by the deprivation of colonial commodities, he imposed upon the people of Europe sacrifices which were felt even in every cottage. In vain he lavished benefits upon them, releasing Germany from its anarchical divisions, and Italy from its municipal jealousies; in vain did he endeavor to rouse Spain from the torpor in which she had for centuries been sunk: the peoples felt that national feelings and national interests had been trampled on. The present ills caused the germs of prosperity and greatness, which the conqueror had sown everywhere, to be despised. And if the peoples withdrew from him, the kings did not draw near. In the eyes of the old courts, Napoleon was always only a parvenu, and his empire only a plebeian empire. France was isolated in the midst of the nations; Napoleon isolated in the midst of sovereigns.

Condition of France.—France had now had enough of military glory and enough of conquests; peace would have been welcome to her also: victorious though she was, she suffered cruelly from this ceaseless war, which was so injurious to industry and agriculture, which developed military instincts to the detriment of peaceful habits, and tended to introduce the ways of camps into civil society. Perfect order reigned. The Corps Législatif and the Senate never interposed a protest, and the journals, strictly watched by the censors, had lost all political character. Yet in the midst of this profound stillness the people began to demand that the government should pay more attention to the rising wave of public opinion.

Ten years before, France had forgotten, or rather did not yet know, that political liberty was the safeguard of civil

liberty. But such thoughts sprang up at this time in many minds. It was to save her national interests, endangered by too feeble a government, that France had applauded the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire; it was to save them a second time, to restore maritime commerce, to put an end to the mourning of families bereaved by the war, and to the fears of the citizens, who felt themselves no longer under the protection of the law, that an opposition, feeble at the time, but destined to increase in strength, was formed against this government which had made itself absolute. Even in Paris the crowd began to show less enthusiasm.

Rupture between France and Russia (1812). — At Tilsit Napoleon had believed that he would find in Russia the ally he needed on the continent; but Alexander, in the war of 1809, had not given him the promised aid, had greatly resented his Austrian marriage and the enlargement of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and tried to obtain from France the declaration that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established. The friendship of the two monarchs had been already greatly strained; the extension given to the French Empire, and the measures taken for the more certain execution of the continental blockade, gave it the final blows.

In reply to the Berlin Decree, England had threatened to confiscate all ships which should go to France or to any of the countries allied to France (January, 1807); Napoleon, in his turn, declared all ships subject to confiscation, which should enter port in England or in her colonies (Milan Decree, December, 1807), and ordered all English merchandise found in France or in the allied states to be burned. These decrees destroyed regular commerce, but could not crush the contraband trade, which was carried on upon a great scale, particularly on the coast extending from Antwerp to Hamburg. Holland thus became an emporium for England. King Louis Bonaparte, between his subjects, who desired one thing, and the Emperor, who desired another, soon found his position intolerable, and abdicated, July, 1810. Holland was immediately united to the Empire. The Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Ems were thus closed to the English contraband trade; but the Weser and the Elbe remained open. In December a decree announced the annexation of the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck. At the same time the Duke of Oldenburg, the

Czar's uncle, was dispossessed. Thus France, having been extended along the whole coast of the North Sea, was now touching the Baltic, and presented the strange spectacle of an empire embracing at once the Tiber and the Elbe. But it was necessary to go still farther and close the ports of Danzig, Königsberg, and St. Petersburg.

Napoleon required that Alexander should confiscate all neutral ships in his ports, as suspected of having violated the Berlin and Milan Decrees. It amounted to demanding the final ruin of Russian commerce, at the moment when, by a system of licenses, Napoleon himself was authorizing certain exchanges between France and England. Moreover, to submit to such orders was to place Russia in a position of dependence. Besides, the French Empire was becoming territorially dangerous to Russia by its gradual approaches. Yet the Czar hesitated, appalled by such a contest: Bernadotte, the new French crown-prince of Sweden, decided him; and in April, 1812, Alexander demanded the evacuation of old Prussia, the duchy of Warsaw, and of Swedish Pomerania, an equivalent for Oldenburg, and some relaxation of the measures taken against neutral commerce.

But it was to the interest of Napoleon not to precipitate matters. England seemed about to succumb from inability to export her products. A rupture between her and America was imminent. Should France be patient, the victory would be hers, for victory would surely rest with whichever of the two rivals should longest endure this terrible state of things. Moreover, the war in Spain was not ended; Masséna, Soult, Ney, the most skilful of the French generals, were succumbing to Wellington and the universal insurrection. Napoleon, with an imprudence of which formerly he would not have been guilty, left behind him, unfinished, this contest which occupied his best soldiers, and rejoined the grand army. In his gigantic projects, Moscow was to be only a halting-place: he wished to resume, in colossal proportions, his expedition to the Indies, which had failed after Aboukir. The vanquished Czar was to furnish auxiliaries, and a French and Russian army should set out from Tiflis, gathering on its way the nomadic tribes of Western Asia, for an attack on British India.

Turkey and Sweden, natural allies of France, had been alienated. Bernadotte mediated between the Porte and the Czar the peace of Bucharest (May, 1812). Russia, thus secured on her right and left, could employ all her forces in

the centre, toward which Napoleon was advancing. The French army numbered, with its auxiliaries, which comprised a third of the forces, six hundred and forty thousand men, more than sixty thousand horses, and twelve hundred cannons. The Russians were less numerous, but they were fighting in their own country for a national cause, and they were resolved to "make a Spanish war."

Russian Campaign (1812). — The commander of the principal Russian army, Barclay de Tolly, proposed, resting on the Düna, to cover with one hundred and thirty thousand men the road to St. Petersburg; while Prince Bagration, taking up a position in front of the Dnieper, should cover that to Moscow. Napoleon proposed to pass over the watershed between the sources of the two streams. He crossed the Niemen on the 24th of June, six days after the Congress at Washington had declared war against England, drove the Russians before him, and entered Wilna, where he refused to re-establish the ancient kingdom of Poland. He halted at Wilna seventeen days, desiring to make it the centre of his commissariat. Then he took the road to Moscow, driving back detachments of the enemy, and capturing Smolensk after a bloody battle. The Russians then fell back continually, devastating the country, burning towns and villages, destroying grain and fruit-trees. Napoleon had need of a great victory, but could not obtain it. Fortunately the Czar now replaced Barclay by the old Kutusof, who determined to give battle in order to save Moscow. The action took place near Moskowa, at Borodino; two hundred and seventy thousand men, resolved on both sides to conquer, rushed into desperate combat; one thousand pieces of cannon exchanged their fire. The Russians, after a furious struggle, finally yielded. In order to make the defeat a complete rout, it would have been necessary to charge with the guard, but Napoleon would not risk his reserve: the battle was gained, but the Russian army was not destroyed. Nearly sixty thousand men had fallen in its ranks (September 7). The French also had lost severely; ten thousand had been killed and twenty thousand wounded; forty-seven generals had been wounded, two mortally.

The French army entered Moscow; but almost all the population had evacuated the city, and the Russian army had exhausted the resources of the public magazines. Fire did the rest. The flames, bursting forth from different

points, spread rapidly through a city built of wood. The conflagration lasted five days. Only the churches, the Kremlin, and a fifth part of the houses were saved. Fifteen thousand wounded, left by the Russians in Moscow, perished in the flames. The French found another Spain under the Polar sky. Napoleon waited in vain for propositions from the Czar; his own were scornfully rejected. Meanwhile the Russians were reorganizing their armies, and winter set in. On the 13th of October, the first frost gave warning that it was time to think of the retreat, which the enemy, already on the French flank, was threatening to cut off.

Leaving Mortier with ten thousand men in the Kremlin, the army quitted Moscow on the 19th of October, thirty-five days after it had entered the city. It still numbered eighty thousand fighting men and six hundred cannons, but was encumbered with camp-followers and vehicles. At Malo-Jaroslavetz a violent struggle took place on the 24th. The town was captured and recaptured seven times. It was finally left in the hands of the French. Here, however, the route changed. The road became increasingly difficult, the cold grew intense, the ground was covered with snow, and the confusion in the quartermaster's department was terrible. When the army reached Smolensk, there were only fifty thousand men in the ranks (November 9). Napoleon had taken minute precautions to provide supplies and reinforcements all along his line of retreat; but the heedlessness of his subalterns, and the difficulty of being obeyed at such distances and in such a country, rendered his foresight useless. At Smolensk, where he hoped to find provisions and supplies, everything had been squandered. Meanwhile there was not a moment to lose; Wittgenstein, with the army of the North, was coming up on the French right. Tchitchagof was occupying Minsk behind the Beresina, with the army which had just come from the banks of the Danube. Kutusof was near at hand. The three Russian armies proposed to unite and bar the Beresina, which the French were obliged to cross. The French began their march, but the cold became suddenly intense; all verdure had disappeared, and there being no food for the horses, they died by the thousand. The cavalry was forced to dismount; it became necessary to destroy or abandon a large portion of the cannon and ammunition. The enemy surrounded the French columns with a cloud of Cossacks, who captured all

stragglers. On the following days the temperature moderated. Then arose another obstacle,—the mud, which prevented the advance; and the famine was constant.

Moreover, the retreat was one continuous battle. Ney, "the bravest of the brave," accomplished prodigies of valor. At Krasnoi the Emperor himself was obliged to charge at the head of his guard. When the Beresina was reached, the army was reduced to forty thousand fighting men, of whom one-third were Poles. The Russians had burned the bridge of Borisof, and Tchitchagof, on the other shore, barred the passage. Fortunately a ford was found. The river was filled with enormous blocks of ice; General Eblé and his pontoniers, plunged in the water up to their shoulders, built and rebuilt bridges across it. Almost all the pontoniers perished of cold or were drowned. Then, while on the right of the river Ney and Oudinot held back the army of Tchitchagof, and Victor on the left that of Wittgenstein, the guard, with Napoleon, passed over. Victor, after having killed or wounded ten thousand of Wittgenstein's Russians, passed over during the night. When, in the morning, the rear-guard began to cross the bridges, a crowd of fugitives rushed upon them. They were soon filled with a confused mass of cavalry, infantry, caissons, and fugitives. The Russians came up and poured a shower of shells upon the helpless crowd. This frightful scene has ever since been famous as the passage of the Beresina. The governor of Minsk had twenty-four thousand dead bodies picked up and burned.

Napoleon conducted the retreat towards Wilna, where the French had large magazines. At Smorgoni he left the army, to repair in all haste to Paris, in order to prevent the disastrous effects of the last events, and to form another army. The army which he had left struggled on under Murat. The cold grew still more intense, and twenty thousand men perished in three days. Ney held the enemy a long time in check with desperate valor; he was the last to recross the Niemen (December 20). There the retreat ended, and with it this fatal campaign. Beyond that river the French left three hundred thousand soldiers, either dead or in captivity. And yet they had never once been defeated; it was the winter and hunger, not the enemy, which had destroyed the grand army. The Russians themselves, habituated as they were to their terrible climate, suffered

horribly; in three weeks Kutusof had lost three-quarters of his effective force.

The French armies were not more successful in Spain. The campaign of 1810 was marked by a failure of Masséna before the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras; that of 1811 by the indecisive battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, between him and Wellington. In 1812 Wellington took Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz, and defeated Marmont near Salamanca.

German Campaign (1813).—The retreat from Moscow struck a mortal blow at the power of Napoleon. The king of Prussia joined the Czar, and the unfortunate French army was compelled to fall back from the Niemen to the Vistula, from the Vistula to the Oder, from the Oder to the Elbe. A sixth coalition was formed, composed of England, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain. Austria prepared secretly to join them. The allied sovereigns appealed to the strongest of popular passions, — national feeling. And Germany, for six years trodden under foot by French soldiers, listened with a terrible determination to the voices of her princes and her poets. The verses of Uhland, Arndt, and Körner were sung in castles and in cottages. Thus that great patriotic movement which, in 1792, had saved France, was now turned against her.

Meanwhile Napoleon displayed his accustomed activity; and though there was not a family that did not mourn a victim to these long wars, France, silent and mourning, still delivered up to him her children. He fitted out another army of two hundred thousand men, and was ready before the allies. He drove them back beyond the Elbe by the brilliant victory of Lützen. The enemy was again defeated at Bautzen, Saxony set free, and Silesia half conquered. At this moment Napoleon halted and unwisely granted an armistice to the allies. The coalition breathed more freely and took courage. In Spain Wellington defeated Joseph at Vittoria, which led to the loss of Spain. Suchet was obliged to abandon the South. Soult took up a position behind the Nive, but the English were on the Bidassoa, and were on the point of invading the soil of France. This event created a profound sensation. Napoleon was not disturbed by it. Austria demanded of him the abandonment of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, Illyria, the Hanse towns, and the protectorate of the Confederation of the Rhine. These concessions would have detracted

nothing from the grandeur of France, as she would still retain the line of the Rhine and the Alps, and Holland and Italy. Unfortunately, Napoleon refused these demands. Austria then joined the allies with three hundred thousand men, and on the 16th of August hostilities commenced.

The coalition had, in front of Napoleon, five hundred thousand soldiers, fifteen hundred cannons, and a reserve of two hundred and fifty thousand men. Two Frenchmen were among them: Bernadotte, now crown-prince of Sweden; and Moreau, the conqueror of Hohenlinden, who, at the request of Alexander, had returned from America to strike a mortal blow against his country. In spite of their numbers, the allies had adopted the plan of refusing battle to their unconquerable adversary, and of accepting it from his lieutenants. The Emperor had on the Elbe and under his command only three hundred thousand men; in spite of the inequality of numbers he endeavored to threaten Berlin, Breslau, and Prague at once, which weakened him in the centre, at Dresden, where he nevertheless dealt on the 26th and 27th of August a terrible blow at the allies. In this battle Moreau was mortally wounded. But meantime severe defeats of Napoleon's lieutenants had rendered the victory useless, had lost Silesia, and had permitted Blücher to advance into Saxony, Bernadotte to occupy Wittenberg. Then, from Wittenberg to Töplitz, the allies formed an arc of three hundred thousand sabres and bayonets in front of the French, the extremities of which attempted to unite behind them and cut them off from the route to France; and Germany was rising, Bavaria entered the coalition, and Baden and Würtemberg were about to follow its example. Napoleon tried again to cut this circle; he concentrated his forces at Leipzig, and there fought a general battle. That fight, which the Germans call the *battle of the nations*, was the most sanguinary contest of modern history: one hundred and ninety thousand Frenchmen sustained, for three whole days, the furious attack of three hundred thousand men. The French lost none of their positions, but the reserves of the artillery were exhausted; at the end of the third day there remained only enough ammunition for about two hours' fighting, and the number of the enemy was constantly increasing. The army was forced to fall back without having been conquered; but this voluntary retreat became disastrous; a miner blew up the

bridge over the Elster before the last part of the army, with two marshals and the commanders of the corps, had crossed it. One hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom fifty thousand were French, were left lying on the fatal field (October 16-19.)

Only one-fifth part of the French troops returned to France, and one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers were left useless in the fortresses of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, in which they were besieged and made heroic defences.

Campaign in France (1814). — To save France a unanimous awakening of the national spirit was needed; but the impulse was gone; the stream of recruitment was drying up at its source. The bourgeoisie, who had saluted Napoleon's dictatorship when that dictatorship was saving the country from disorder, repulsed it now that it was leading the country into fearful dangers; at the moment when it was necessary that the whole nation should rally around Napoleon, the liberals gave the signal for an ill-timed and unfortunate opposition. The enemies of France wisely profited by these first symptoms of weariness and approaching defection. They published the famous declaration of Frankfort, in which they declared "that they were not making war upon France, but upon the preponderance that Napoleon had too long exercised outside of the limits of his Empire." And they offered peace on condition that France should return to her natural limits. By these propositions the allies sought to separate the Emperor from the nation. They succeeded in doing so; the Corps Législatif, from whom Napoleon demanded an active co-operation, responded by complaining of his despotism and the war. It was at once adjourned *sine die*; and Napoleon prepared for a desperate struggle.

He had now only sixty thousand soldiers against the three hundred thousand who were advancing, divided into two great armies: that of Silesia, under Blücher; that of Bohemia, under Schwarzenberg. The first crossed the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse without resistance; the second, violating Swiss neutrality, passed through the pass of Belfort and the Jura. The two intended to maintain communication across the plateau of Langres. On the south, one hundred and sixty thousand English and Spaniards under Wellington were crossing the Pyrenees; on the southeast,

eighty thousand Austrians were approaching from the Alps; on the northeast, eighty thousand Swedes, Prussians, and Russians, under Bernadotte, were threatening Belgium; and as though this immense force was not enough, four hundred thousand soldiers were raised in the rear of the active armies. Thus more than a million of armed men were about to rush upon France.

On the 26th of January Napoleon hastened to Vitry-le-François. He failed to prevent the junction of the armies of Silesia and Bohemia. A few days after, he received the ultimatum of the allies; this time they no longer conceded the natural limits of the Rhine and the Alps, but demanded that France should return to her boundaries of 1789. The Emperor indignantly refused. The allies now separated to march simultaneously upon Paris by way of the valley of the Seine and that of the Marne. Napoleon cut the long column of the Russians in two at Champaubert, and routed both divisions separately, winning four victories in five days. While he was on the Marne, Schwartzemberg advanced down the valley of the Seine; his vanguard had already passed Melun; the French army marched thirty leagues in thirty-six hours, came up with the Austrians, and drove them before them. In eight days the Austrians lost ground to the extent of fifty leagues. Unfortunately, this pursuit of the Austrians on the upper Seine left the approaches to Paris open on the northeast; Blücher, who had reinforced his army, marched thither a second time by way of the Marne. Napoleon hastened to meet him, and hurled him back in disorder. The Prussians concentrated near Laon, numbering one hundred thousand, and maintained that strong position in spite of the efforts of the Emperor to dislodge them. Napoleon then turned against the Russians and drove them out of Rheims (March 13). Schwartzemberg, who during the absence of the little French army had advanced to within two days' march of Paris, was alarmed at seeing it return upon his flank: he halted and fell back.

Thus in a month Napoleon had fought fourteen battles, gained twelve victories, and defended the approaches to his capital against the three great hostile armies. But the struggle became more and more unequal. The defection of Murat gave Italy to the Austrians. Augereau opened to them the gates of Lyons; Maison evacuated Belgium; the English, under Wellington, entered Bordeaux, where

Louis XVIII. was proclaimed king (March 12); and the royalists were beginning agitation in the interior.

The Czar resolved to bring to an end this astonishing struggle. He ordered Blücher and Schwartzberg to unite their forces and march together upon Paris. Napoleon vainly endeavored at Arcis-sur-Aube to hinder this junction (March 20 and 21). Then he boldly resolved to leave open the route to Paris, and move with fifty thousand men upon the rear of the allies, cut off their communications, arouse once more the courage of the patriotic provinces, increase his army by a part of the garrisons of the fortresses of the Moselle and by irregular levies, and then return upon the enemy and strike a terrible blow. If only Paris would defend herself, not a foreigner should recross the Rhine.

But Paris did not defend herself. By utilizing all the resources which it afforded, seventy thousand fighting men could be collected and armed. Only twenty-two thousand men took part in the battle before Paris, against the eighty thousand Austrians of Schwartzberg, the one hundred thousand Prussians of Blücher (March 30). The resistance was heroic, but useless. The allies lost eighteen thousand men, almost as many as the French had in line: Marshal Marmont signed a suspension of arms and a capitulation, in order to spare the city the horrors of a capture by assault (March 31).

Abdication of the Emperor (April 6, 1814).—The foreigners, on entering the city, showed the greatest moderation. The Czar protested that the nation had only to manifest its wishes, and he would be ready to sustain them. The people evinced a gloomy resignation; but the Senate, convoked and directed by Talleyrand, appointed a provisional government, pronounced the deposition of Napoleon, adopted a new constitution, and called to the throne Louis XVIII., a brother of Louis XVI. Napoleon still had powerful forces at Fontainebleau; with the armies of Eugène, Suchet, and Soult, who had just fought with Wellington the heroic battle of Toulouse, he could collect one hundred and forty thousand experienced soldiers beyond the Loire. He thought for a moment of giving battle, but his generals were tired of war; Ney, and even Berthier, left him. Then he abdicated! Nine days after, he bade farewell to his old guard in words since celebrated, and departed for the island of

Elba. An island of a few square miles was now the whole empire of the man who for fifteen years had reigned over half of Europe. A few officers followed him into his exile, together with about four hundred men of the old guard.

Thus the deadly duel which England had fought against France was over; England had conquered. Napoleon had taken the empire of the land to fight against the masters of the ocean. For ten years he had gone on from victory to victory; and always the inaccessible enemy had escaped him. He had conceived the mad project of marching even to Moscow, when his best soldiers were in the heart of Spain, and the soil of Germany, secretly undermined, was trembling under his feet. On his return, winter killed the grand army; the nations arose; the colossus fell; in his fall he seemed to drag down the country itself. She has pardoned him, however, for she owes him glory incomparable. Victories gained by the superiority of genius, and not by that of numbers, immense works accomplished, industry awakened, agriculture encouraged, an enlightened, vigilant, and active administration, the unity of the country consolidated, and her greatness surpassing anything ever dreamed of, will always plead for him with posterity and with the heart of France.

Moreover, in spite of his court of kings, his nobility, and in certain respects in spite of himself, Napoleon remains for the French the representative, and for Europe the armed soldier, of the Revolution. He preserved its civil institutions. He carried its spirit everywhere. By crowning parvenus, by forcing kings of the old stock and emperors to bow before him, he destroyed the old prestige of the divine right of royalty. Spain, Italy, and Germany passed with ominous tremblings from under his control; and in order to overthrow him, the kings were compelled to proclaim the rights of the people. He himself always recognized his real origin even in the most glorious moments of his career. Thus, led by their instincts, the people were never deceived; they who had paid for the Emperor's victories with their blood, loved and regretted Napoleon.

Nevertheless this powerful man of war and administration, who will continue to be the greatest figure in military history, left France smaller by eighteen departments than he had found her, and drained of blood and gold. The mistakes of the politician had brought ruin upon the invincible

general. And perhaps in this marvellous and terrible epic history will find one of the most memorable examples of the expiation which always follows after great errors. Disasters fell upon two victims; but there were also two culprits: the Emperor and France; of whom the one, after ten years of revolution, re-established the old régime under new forms, and ruined himself utterly, because he would place no restraint upon either his ambition or his genius; while the other had deserved her misfortunes by throwing herself like a lost child into the arms of a young and glorious general, and to escape the burden of governing herself, had restored what she had just overthrown.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE FIRST RESTORATION AND THE HUNDRED DAYS.

(1814-1815 A.D.)

The First Restoration (April 6, 1814-March 26, 1815). — While the great exile was journeying through France, Talleyrand, the real head of the provisional government, signed, on the 23d of April, a disastrous convention which reduced France to her frontiers of January 1, 1792.

Louis XVIII. left England, and on the 24th of April landed at Calais. It was essential, at any price, to attract popularity to the Bourbon princes who had, for twenty-four years, been strangers to the country, who owed their fortunes to its disasters, and derived their power from its enemies. But the new monarch, who entitled himself "king by the grace of God," replaced the tricolor by the white flag, and dated his accession from the death of his nephew Louis XVII., was little disposed to make concessions. The emperor Alexander, perceiving the necessity of liberal institutions, sustained the constitutional propositions drawn up by Talleyrand and a committee of senators and deputies. The king was obliged to issue the *Charte constitutionnelle* on the 4th of June. The following were its principles:—

Hereditary royalty; two chambers, one elective, the other, the Chamber of Peers, composed by the king, both having the right to vote upon taxation and to discuss the laws; public and individual liberty, liberty of the press and of worship; the inviolability of landed estates, even those acquired after confiscation; the responsibility of ministers; the immovability of judges; the security of the public debt; the free admissibility of all Frenchmen to all civil and military employments; the maintenance of the great institutions of the Empire: the Council of State, the Court of Cassation, the Court of Accounts, and the University. The treaty of peace was then signed, and the evacuation of France by the enemies' troops commenced.

The charter satisfied the middle class. It was consoled

for the loss of glory and power by the hope of having at least found repose and liberty; but with the Bourbons came the émigrés, who threatened the new interests created by the Revolution. They disturbed the possessors of confiscated property, they respected neither liberty of worship; nor tolerance in religion. Ranks and honors were lavished upon the émigrés, while fourteen thousand officers who had won their epaulets in front of the enemy were retired on half-pay. Soldiers of the army of Condé became generals. Naval officers received the rank next superior to that which they had held previous to their emigration; those who had served on the British fleet retained the rank bestowed upon them by the English admiralty. In ten months the government of Louis XVIII. had lost all credit.

Return from Elba (March 20, 1815).—Meanwhile, from the island of Elba, Napoleon saw the mistakes of the Bourbons accumulate and their unpopularity increase, and resolved once more to try his fortune. He embarked with a few hundred men and landed near Cannes (March 1), and issued a stirring proclamation. From Cannes to Grenoble the little troop met with no obstacle. The Emperor frankly confessed that he had been mistaken in desiring to bestow upon France the empire of the world, spoke only of peace and liberty, promised a constitution and constitutional guarantees. Near Grenoble he met the first troops sent against him. He advanced alone to meet them and said, "Is there one among you who wishes to kill his Emperor?" The arms fell from the hands of the soldiers, and they answered by one great shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" Labédoyère brought over to him the 7th regiment of the line; each soldier had resumed his tricolor cockade, which each had religiously preserved for ten months in the bottom of his knapsack. After that, the journey was a complete triumph. Ney, who had left Paris a devoted servant of the king, saw his regiments yield to the universal enchantment, and came himself to rejoin his old chief at Auxerre. On the 20th of March Napoleon re-entered the Tuileries, which Louis XVIII. had quitted the day before. Not a gun was fired in defence of the Bourbons, not a drop of blood had been shed for the re-establishment of the Empire; an evidence that this revolution was not the result of a conspiracy, but of a universal impulse.

The Hundred Days (March 20–June 22).—The events

which had taken place during the year which had just passed had taught Napoleon that he had left out of his government one of the active forces of France,—the spirit of liberty. This force he now endeavored to win, and took measures intended to placate the liberal element. A new constitution (*Acte additionnel*), containing the principal provisions of the charter, was promulgated. Submitted to the people, it was passed by 1,500,000 yeas against 4206 nays.

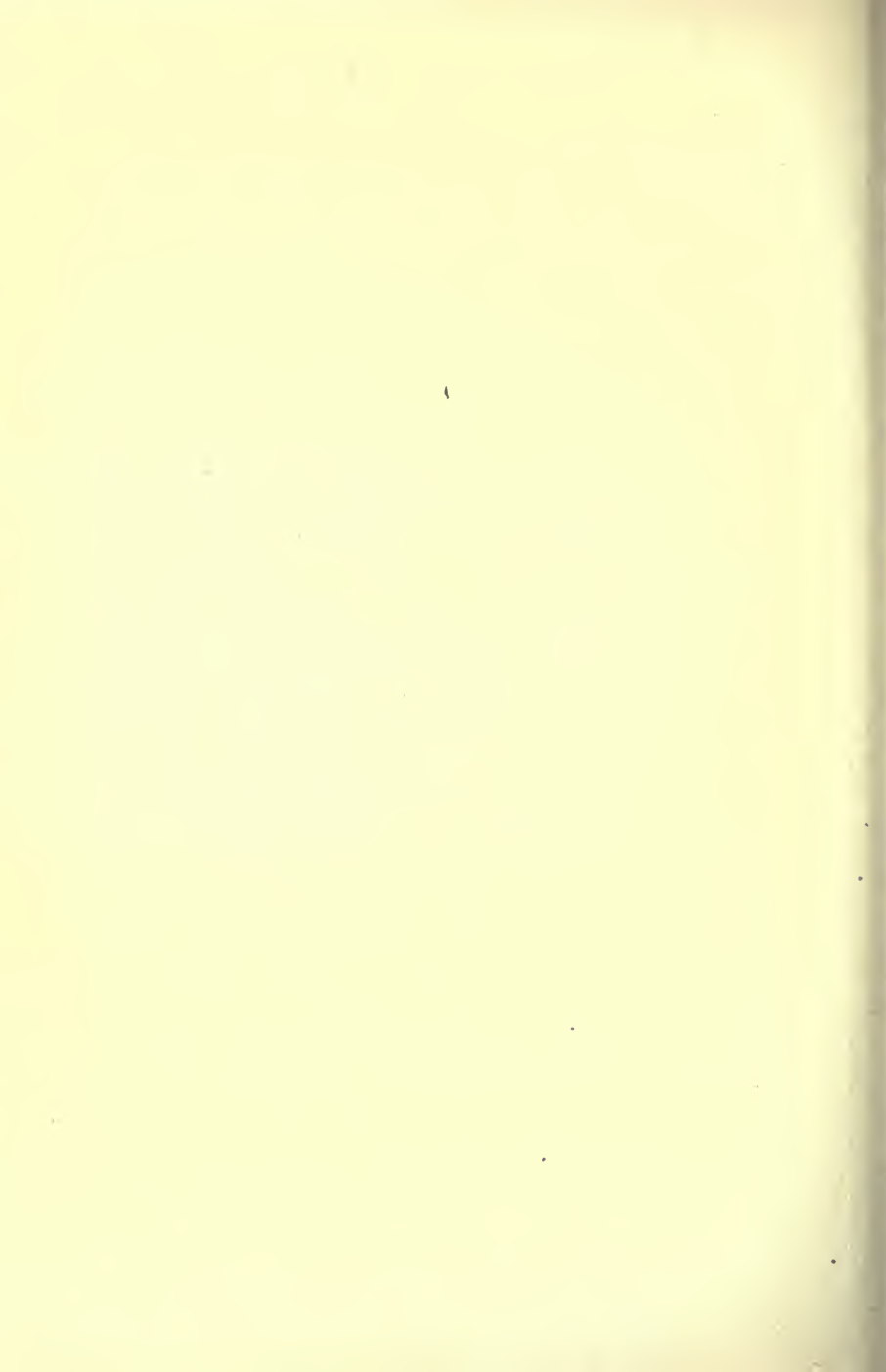
Nevertheless he had all Europe to fight against, and, in addition, civil war in La Vendée. The allied sovereigns, then assembled in congress at Vienna to divide the nations among them, declared that Napoleon had placed himself outside of the pale of public law: they resolved to inflict the severest chastisement upon France. Such declarations excited the patriotic ardor of the French. Citizens, artisans, peasants, offered their aid, and all who were willing to join the regiments and place themselves under military law were accepted. But there was in a part of the country an extreme weariness, and in the official regions much distrust. The Emperor himself was conscious of a loss of spirit; he no longer believed in his good fortune; "I had," said he afterwards, "a presentiment of misfortune." Nevertheless he employed all his energies; he worked sixteen hours out of the twenty-four. In fifty days an army of one hundred and eighty-two thousand regular troops was organized. Another, of two hundred thousand national guards, was prepared for the defence of fortresses, and as a reserve of the active army.

The troops of the allies were all ready to enter upon the campaign. Austria sent towards the Rhine and the Alps three hundred thousand Germans; one hundred and seventy thousand Russians would reach Mainz on the 1st of July. Already there were ninety-five thousand English and Dutch in Belgium under Wellington, and one hundred and twenty-four thousand Prussians under Blücher. The arrival of the Russians was waited for, in order to commence operations.

Battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815).—The Emperor determined to anticipate the enemy's attack. A great victory in Belgium might effect great changes. He crossed the Sambre with one hundred and twenty-four thousand men and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon (June 15). He expected to surprise the Prussians; but Blücher, warned of the danger, had time to concentrate his forces at



WATERLOO—LA BELLE ALLIANCE.
From photograph.



Ligny. The French advanced divided into three corps; the right wing under Grouchy, the centre under the direct command of Napoleon, the left under Ney. The right and the centre were to confront the Prussians, the left was to seize upon Quatre-Bras and arrest the progress of the English, then to fall upon the Prussians and complete their rout. This plan was only half executed; the English had time to establish themselves in force at Quatre-Bras; and though Ney with his indomitable energy succeeded in holding them back, he could not co-operate in the attack upon the Prussians. The Emperor had a terrible engagement with them at Ligny; at length they fled, after having suffered considerable loss, but without having been destroyed as they might have been (June 16).

The Prussians seemed for the moment to be thrown back upon Namur; it was time to turn his attention to the English. Napoleon marched upon them on the 17th. Wellington had gathered together seventy thousand men in front of the village of Waterloo on the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean. He had long studied this position, and was determined to defend himself there to the last extremity. Napoleon left Grouchy thirty-four thousand men, with orders to follow the Prussians toward Namur. He himself with the rest of his forces joined Ney in order to attack the English. The French army numbered only seventy-two thousand men, but was full of enthusiasm. Wellington, having only one road upon which to retreat, would be destroyed unless he conquered. He sent word to Blücher to send him two of his corps; Blücher replied that he would come with all. Wellington counted therefore on the Prussians, but Napoleon counted on Grouchy to hold them back.

The rain which had fallen in torrents on the 17th and during the ensuing night had made the ground an expanse of mire. On the 18th, about eleven o'clock, the sun appeared, and the battle began. Napoleon first attacked the château of Hougomont, on which Wellington's right rested, intending to draw off troops from the English centre; then he would pierce the centre at the plateau Mont-Saint-Jean, cut the English off from Brussels, and throw their defeated right wing back into Flanders. Wellington, in fact, brought the best of his troops to the defence of Hougomont, and a desperate struggle raged there for four hours; the English held the position. During this feigned attack Napoleon

collected a powerful battery of seventy-eight pieces and directed a tremendous fire upon Mont-Saint-Jean, then threw Ney upon La Haie-Sainte, a hamlet which was situated at the foot of the hill. The heavy artillery of the marshal made frightful ravages in the English ranks. For a moment they seemed disconcerted; at this moment, when Ney attempted to bring forward his artillery, the twelve-pounders stuck, and were vigorously attacked by the English. They were in turn charged and cut to pieces by the sabres of the French cavalry; but a grievous disorder had been produced. But Ney, continually advancing, finally reached La Haie-Sainte, and took possession of it. The English army was a second time thrown into confusion. In order to turn this confusion into a rout, Napoleon was about to charge with his guard. Suddenly cannons were heard thundering behind the French lines. "Is it Grouchy?" was heard on all sides.

It was Bülow, who was debouching on the right of the French army with thirty thousand Prussians, brought up by a forced march. The Emperor was obliged to send against him Lobau's corps and the guard with which he had intended to sustain Ney. Wellington recognized the promised aid, and took the offensive on the side toward La Haie-Sainte. On seeing this, all the French cavalry, even the reserves, rushed confusedly upon the fatal plateau, to cut down the enemy's cavalry. The latter, opening to right and left, unmasked twenty pieces of cannon which vomited death, and the whole of Wellington's infantry formed into squares. The French horsemen charged the English lines; eleven times they charged and sabred them; several were broken, but they formed anew. At seven o'clock the French cavalry were driven from the plateau; they had occupied it two hours. Finally Napoleon formed a column of four battalions of the guard; but he was too late; the English army had reappeared at the crest of the plateau. Three volleys of artillery broke successively upon the guard as it advanced; two battalions were entirely destroyed by the volleys. Napoleon then called to him the troops which were occupying Hougoumont, joined them to those of Ney, inspired them by a few words, and ordered a general attack. It was eight o'clock in the evening. The French soldiers charged the enemy with admirable enthusiasm; several of the English squares were broken through and cut to pieces.

Suddenly a tremendous cannonading was heard on the extreme right of the French army. "It is Grouchy," again cried all the soldiers. But it was Blücher, who, at the head of thirty-six thousand Prussians, was coming up after Bülow, upon the right flank of the French. Then the last army of France, pressed in front by all that remained of Wellington's ninety thousand men, on the right by the sixty-six thousand Prussians of Blücher and Bülow, was dashed together, with ranks all in disorder, and soon there was nothing but a dreadful confusion. Napoleon, in desperation, drew his sword and was about to rush into the midst of the enemy: his generals surrounded him and led him away on the road toward Génappe.

It was after nine o'clock; night had fallen on the terrible field of battle, and still the struggle continued. The old guard formed six squares; five were successively destroyed by an enemy thirty times as numerous: one only still remained, that of Cambroune. They bravely refused to surrender, and alone, against the whole army of the enemy, they charged with their bayonets in order to give their beloved chief time to escape. Other battalions of the guard, with Lobau, checked half of the Prussian army for an hour and a half, until the immense crowd, protected by their sacrifice, had passed on upon the route to Charleroi.

The battle of Waterloo had lasted ten hours; "a battle of giants," which cost France thirty thousand men killed, wounded, or captured, and the victors twenty-two thousand. Seventy-two thousand Frenchmen had fought against one hundred and fifteen thousand of the enemy, and had twice seen victory escape from their hands. So ended this four days' campaign.

Second Abdication of the Emperor (June 22, 1815).—The retreat was as disastrous as those from Leipzig and from Moscow. From Laon Napoleon set out for Paris. He entered the capital at midnight and established himself in the Élysée. He counted on the patriotism of the Chambers. "Let them stand by me," said he, "and nothing is lost." But the Chamber of Representatives failed him. A message was sent to him demanding his abdication. Napoleon resigned himself to fate and abdicated in favor of his son, proclaiming him Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The Assembly accepted this abdication, but without at all mentioning the name of Napoleon II. A provisional gov-

ernment was appointed, and a special committee was charged with negotiating with the allies. But the latter refused all offers of peace. Wellington and Blücher marched directly upon Paris—an imprudent step; but the president of the provisional government, Fouché, managed everything in their favor.

St. Helena.—Threatened with being delivered up to the enemy, Napoleon departed for Rochefort, thinking of seeking an asylum in the United States. But all ways of escape were guarded: after long uncertainty, he went on board an English vessel, the *Bellerophon*, and gave himself up, and wrote to the regent of England an admirable letter, declaring that he had come, like Themistocles, to seat himself at the hearth of the British nation, and to claim the protection of “the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.” The English government treated him as a prisoner of war. The Emperor was taken to St. Helena, an island in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean, under a burning sun, five hundred leagues from any land. Not considering the deadly climate and the weariness of solitude and inaction sufficient suffering for the ardent genius who for fifteen years had astonished the world, the English ministry allowed the immortal captive to be annoyed by petty insults. Napoleon endured his tortures with calm dignity, and occupied the mournful leisure of his captivity in dictating the history of his campaigns. After six years, which were six years of moral suffering and material privation, he died at Longwood on the 5th of May, 1821, at four o’clock in the morning, wrapped in his military cloak, while a tropical hurricane was sweeping over the island and tearing up by the roots many of the largest trees, “as though the spirit of storms, borne on the wings of the wind, was hastening to inform the world that a mighty spirit had just descended into the sombre abysses of nature.”

Treaties of 1815.—In the shipwreck of the Empire, France barely escaped total destruction. Neither the Chamber nor the government knew how to defend Paris. Davout, minister of war, came to an understanding with Fouché, and signed a convention by which the French army was to retire beyond the Loire, without firing a gun. The allies took possession of Paris as of a conquered city. Blücher proposed to blow up the bridge of Jena and overturn the column of the Grand Army. The museum of the Louvre

was despoiled of the masterpieces which had been transported thither: the allies closed the hall of the Chamber of Deputies, and re-established Louis XVIII. on the throne. This second restoration cost France dear. First of all, it was compelled to pay the allies another war indemnity of 800,000,000 fr. and 370,000,000 more of special claims. One hundred and fifty thousand foreign soldiers remained for three years on French soil, maintained and fed at French expense. Finally, the treaty of Paris (November 20) took from France Philippeville, Marienburg, the duchy of Bouillon, Saarlouis and the course of the Saar, Landau, several communes of the country of Gex and Savoy, all of which the treaty of 1814 had left her; in all five hundred and thirty-four thousand inhabitants. After twenty-five years of victories, the national territory found itself less extensive in certain directions than it had been a century before, at the end of the reign of Louis XIV.; and during that century the other powers had all vastly increased their strength.

Moreover, the treaties of 1815 had perfidiously exposed the frontiers of France. Important strategic points were wrested from her. Bavaria was placed at her gates in the Palatinate, Prussia established in the valley of the Moselle, the kingdom of the Netherlands erected so as to keep from her the mouths of the Meuse and the Scheldt, while the gift of the kingdom of Lombardy to Austria re-established the Austrian influence in the Italian peninsula at the expense of the French. Finally, by the treaty of the Holy Alliance, all Europe, which Napoleon had tried to unite under his power, united against France.

APPENDIX.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS FROM 1815 TO 1870.

I.

THE RESTORATION.

Royalist Reaction. — The Royalists revenged themselves cruelly for their second exile. Marshal Ney, Labédoyère, and four other generals were put to death; others were condemned to death by default; three were assassinated, and a bloody reaction in the South caused men to be killed who were suspected of regretting the imperial régime. Religious hatred was added to political hatred, and many Protestants perished. Finally, a law in December, 1815, instituted for three years provosts' courts, which soon obtained an evil celebrity. Thus the restored monarchy had its massacres and its Terror, commonly called the White Terror.

The Chamber of Deputies undertook to suppress the Charter and to undo the social work of the Revolution by restoring to the clergy and the aristocracy the political rôle which they had played under the old régime. Louis XVIII. was obliged to dismiss these too devoted servants (November, 1816), and a new and more moderate Chamber began the era of representative government in France. This Chamber adopted an electoral law which fixed the qualification of the electors at three hundred francs, that of those eligible at one thousand francs. Thanks to the Duke of Richelieu and the generosity of the Czar Alexander, the occupation of the French territory by the foreign armies ceased two years before the time fixed by the treaties.

Assassination of the Duke of Berry. — The progress of the Liberals was slow but continuous, and they were beginning to acquire a preponderance in the Chamber, as well as in

the country. The assassination of the Duke of Berry, the king's nephew, inclined the balance again to the side of the Royalists. On the 13th of February, 1820, the duke was at the opera; as he was escorting the duchess to her carriage, a miscreant named Louvel stabbed him. The Liberal cause was held responsible for this crime, and a reactionary ministry was formed which started the government on the fatal path which led it to its fall in 1830.

Alliance of the Altar and the Throne. — Individual liberty was suspended, the censorship of journals re-established, and the political powers of the great landed proprietors increased. The birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, a posthumous son of the Duke of Berry (September, 1820), the death of Napoleon (May, 1821), increased the joy and hopes of the ultra-Royalists, who brought M. de Villèle into the ministry. Then the restoration of its ancient prerogatives to royalty, and especially to the Church, was spoken of openly. The Jesuits returned to France; they at once attacked their most formidable adversary, the University, by causing the lectures of Cousin and Guizot to be stopped (1822).

The Liberals protested, as oppressed parties always do, by conspiracies. To the Congregation formed by the ultra-Royalists, which numbered fifty thousand members, they opposed the society of the Carbonari, which was recruited principally from the schools, the bar, and the army. Carbonarism spread its roots all through France, into Germany, Italy, and Spain, and undertook several armed insurrections.

Expedition into Spain. — The conquerors of 1814 and 1815, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had formed a Holy Alliance in order to stifle the liberal ideas which the Revolution had sown abroad in the world, and which were fermenting everywhere. They were violently suppressed in Germany, in Naples, and in Piedmont, and the French government received from the Congress of Verona (1822) a commission to take the field against them in Spain. The army which entered Spain in April, 1823, had little occasion to fight and met with no serious resistance except at Cadiz, which it successfully besieged. This expedition, quite without glory, was also without profit. Re-established in his absolute power, the king of Spain would not listen to the counsels of moderation. The Liberals of France held their government responsible for the acts of violence committed by Ferdinand VII., and had the majority in the country on their side.

Charles X. ; Villèle. — The death of Louis XVIII., a prudent and moderate king, seemed to assure the triumph of the ultra-Royalists by causing the power to pass into the hands of the Count of Artois (September, 1824). In 1789 this prince had given the signal for emigration: he had learned nothing, forgotten nothing, and would not listen to his brother's advice. He believed himself called to restore the ancient monarchy, regardless of the Charter. In the earliest days of his reign he demanded of the Chamber, through M. de Villèle, an indemnity of 1,000,000,000 fr. for the émigrés, the re-establishment of nunneries, and of the right of primogeniture, and a law of extreme severity against sacrilege. The deputies granted all. In May, 1825, the new king had himself crowned after the ancient ceremonial.

Meantime the Liberal party was gaining in the country every day. In letters and in the arts a great movement was noticed in favor of liberty. In the Parliament men of talent or authority, Chateaubriand, Royer-Collard, De Broglie, etc., served the cause of public liberty; the leading journals, which were then establishing a new power in the State, that of the press, defended that cause openly; teachers popularized it in the higher educational institutions. The great cities were in the opposition; Paris was wholly devoted to it. At a royal review of the national guard in April, 1827, the cry, "Down with the ministers," resounded through the ranks. The same evening the national guard was disbanded, which caused the complete withdrawal of the support of the bourgeoisie from the court. The general elections sent to the Chambers a Liberal majority before which the Villèle ministry fell (December, 1827).

All parties manifested their sympathy for the Greeks, who were trying by force of heroism to recover their independence. They seemed likely to succumb in their unequal struggle with the Turks, when England, France, and Russia united to save them. The three allied fleets annihilated the Turkish navy at Navarino (September, 1827). France also sent into the Morea troops, who recaptured, in a short time, all the cities occupied by the Ottomans: Greece was delivered.

Ministries of Martignac and Polignac. — In January, 1828, a new cabinet was formed under M. de Martignac. His intentions were honest and liberal, and his acts generally approved. He abolished the censorship of journals, sought

to prevent electoral frauds, and gradually reconciled France with the Bourbons. Unfortunately Charles X. supported his ministry without liking it, and in August, 1829, profiting by a slight check imprudently inflicted by the Chambers upon his ministers, he replaced them by M. de Polignac, M. de Labourdonnaie, and M. de Bourmont. The choice of these men was a declaration of war on the part of royalty against the country; a crisis became inevitable. The deputies declared in their reply to the king's speech, that the ministry had not their confidence. The Chamber was dissolved, but the two hundred and twenty-one signers of the address were all re-elected, and royalty, defeated in the elections, determined to make a revolution itself. It was encouraged to do so by a military success, the expedition to Algiers, undertaken to avenge an affront to the French consul. Thirty-seven thousand men landed in June, 1830, upon the African coast, defeated the Algerians, and obtained possession of the city.

Revolution of 1830. — On the 26th of the same month appeared a series of ordinances which suppressed the liberty of the press, annulled the last elections, and created a new electoral system. It was a *coup d'état* against the public liberties and the Charter, and Paris responded to this violation of the constitution by the three days' outbreak of July 27, 28, and 29, 1830. In spite of the bravery of the royal guard and the Swiss, Charles X. was conquered. He abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, and went again into exile. Six thousand victims had fallen either killed or wounded. On the 9th of August the Chamber of Deputies raised to the throne the head of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, the Duke of Orleans, who took the name of Louis Philippe I., and the title of King of the French.

II.

THE JULY MONARCHY.

(1830-1848 A.D.)

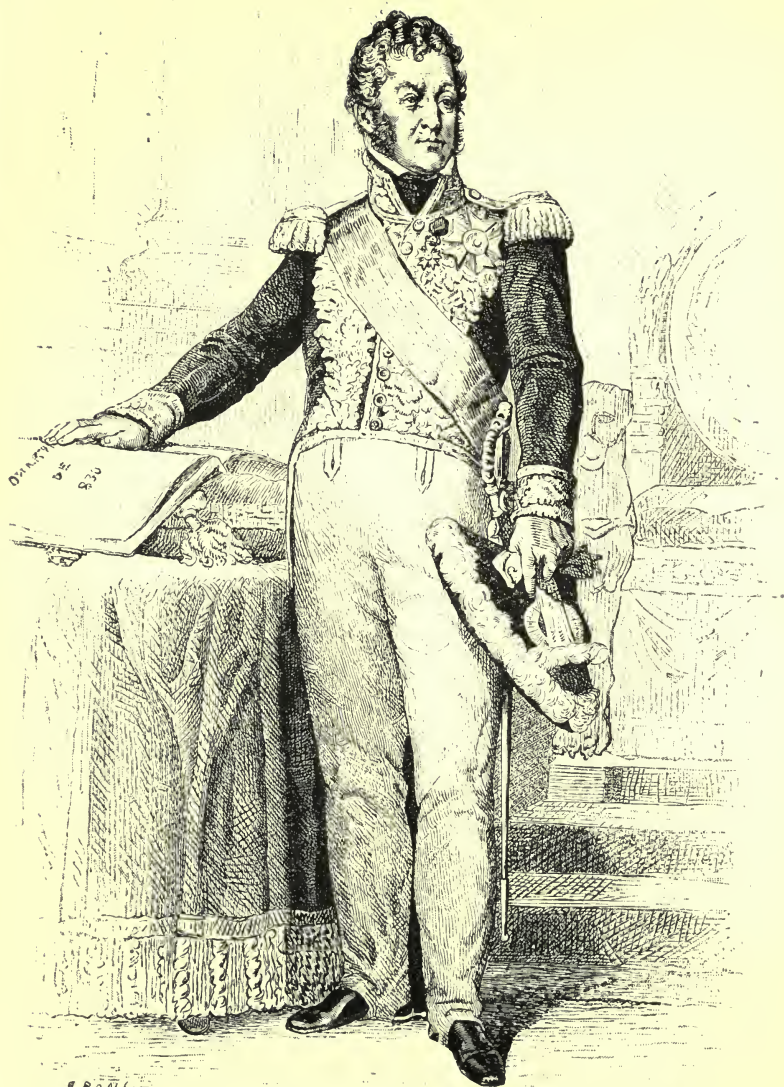
King Louis Philippe. — The private virtues of the Duke of Orleans, his handsome family, his former connections with the head of the Liberal party, his bourgeois habits, the popu-

lar education given to his sons in the public schools, all encouraged the hopes of the people. The duke was proclaimed king on the 9th of August, after having sworn to observe the revised charter. The changes made in the constitutional compact were not extensive: the abolition of hereditary in the peerage and of the censorship of the journals; the establishment of the qualification for eligibility at five hundred francs, and the electoral qualification at two hundred francs; and the suppression of the article which recognized the Catholic religion as the religion of the State. But in 1814 Louis XVIII. had appeared to *grant* a charter as an act of grace; in 1830 Louis Philippe accepted one which was imposed upon him by the deputies. This fact constituted the whole revolution. General La Fayette was appointed commander of the national guard of France, and M. Laffitte was called to the ministry.

On the news of the revolution at Paris, revolutionary movements broke out elsewhere, throughout Europe. In Switzerland, the aristocratic governments fell; in Germany, liberal innovations were introduced. Italy was agitated; Spain prepared for a revolution; Belgium separated from Holland; England even, agitated and in commotion, forced the Tories to grant the Reform Bill.

But should France make herself the champion of European insurrections, at the risk of stirring up a general war? The new king thought not. Belgium offered to join France; the offer was repulsed, in order not to excite the jealousy of England. The Spanish refugees wished to attempt a revolution in their country; they were stopped upon the frontier, in order not to violate international law. Poland received no substantial aid. Italy, bound by Austria, was laboring to break her fetters; M. Laffitte desired to aid her in the struggle. The king refused to sanction his course, and called Casimir Périer to the presidency of the council.

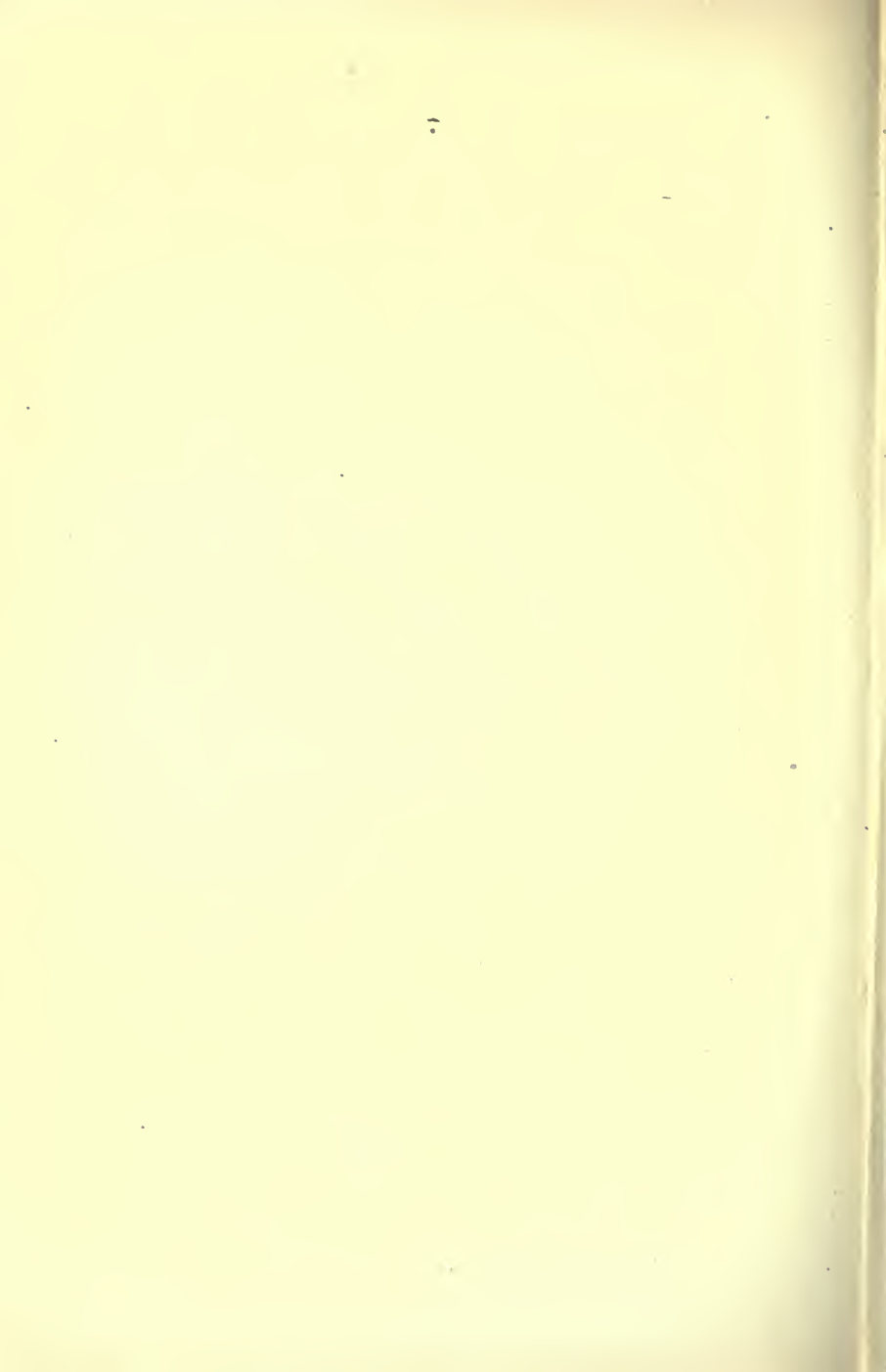
Ministry of Casimir Périer (1831-1832). — Casimir Périer declared that he would maintain order within the country, and that he would not involve France in a general war, but would make for universal peace any sacrifice compatible with the honor of the country. Reparation was exacted from Dom Miguel, in Portugal, for outrages on French subjects. The Dutch were forced to give up their attempts to reconquer Belgium. By the occupation of Ancona the Austrians were obliged to abandon their intervention in the Papal States.



J. R. N. / AT

H. W. Brand, 63.

LOUIS PHILIPPE. (Baron Gérard)



In the interior, the president of the council pursued, with the same energy, the line of conduct which he had traced out for himself. A revolt of the legitimists in the west, insurrections of the workmen at Lyons and Grenoble, and plots in Paris were suppressed. Such was the ministry of Casimir Périer; an energetic struggle for the cause of order, in which his strong will never succumbed to any obstacle.

Ministry of Broglie, Guizot, and Thiers. — Socialistic agitation prevailed. In June the Republicans of Paris threw up barricades, but they were overcome by the national guard. In July, the death of the son of Napoleon, the Duke of Reichstadt, relieved the Orleans dynasty of a formidable competitor. Another pretender also lost his cause. The Duchess of Berry had appeared in the west, attempting to stir up a civil war, in the name of her son, Henry V. But there were no longer either Vendéans or Chouans. The new ideas had penetrated there as well as elsewhere. A few gentlemen, some irreconcilables, a few peasants, responded to the appeal. The country was promptly pacified, and the duchess, after having wandered about a long time, was captured and imprisoned; and a little later, permanently discredited by the necessity of avowing a secret marriage.

Foreign Affairs; the Quadruple Alliance. — In 1832 the citadel of Antwerp was taken by French forces, and the permanent occupation of Algeria assured. In the East, French diplomacy intervened between the Sultan and his victorious vassal, the Pasha of Egypt, and strengthened the latter as guardian, for France and Europe, of the two great commercial routes of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia. In Portugal, Dom Miguel, an absolutist prince, had been driven from the throne in favor of Donna Maria da Gloria, who gave her people a constitutional charter. In Spain, Ferdinand VII., dying, excluded from the crown his brother Don Carlos, who sustained the reactionary party. The treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed in April, 1834, between the courts of Paris, London, Lisbon, and Madrid, promised the new Spanish and Portuguese governments the efficient aid of the two great constitutional countries against the ill will of the northern courts.

Internal Affairs. — The Chambers adopted a law which finally organized primary instruction (1833). On important questions the majority went with the ministry. An attempt upon the life of the king gave royalty an opportunity to

profit by the horror which such crimes always inspire. The insurrections of April, 1834, at Lyons and Paris, and the trial of one hundred and sixty-four Republicans before the Court of Peers, brought about the immediate ruin of this party as a militant faction. The violent members of the party again had recourse to assassination. At a review in July, 1835, one Fieschi directed against the king an infernal machine, which struck dead at the king's side Marshal Mortier and several others; in all, eighteen were killed and wounded, among whom were five generals. The ministry profited by the universal indignation, to present more stringent laws upon criminal procedure and the press.

External Policy. — The cause of order had been energetically sustained in the interior; now that it was triumphant, M. Thiers, who in February, 1836, had become president of the Council of Ministers, desired to assume abroad the rôle of Casimir Périer. He proposed to intervene in Spain for the repression of the Carlists, and to inaugurate a more vigorous prosecution of war in Algeria. He ordered Marshal Clausel to attack Constantine, the strongest fortress in all Africa. Thus the government having suppressed internal troubles, would provide abroad an outlet for the activity of France. He wished to add to order a little glory. The king willingly agreed to the expedition against Constantine, but he refused his consent to the intervention in Spain. M. Thiers left the ministry, in which he was succeeded by M. Molé (September, 1836), as president of the Council.

At first the ministry of M. Molé was unfortunate. Marshal Clausel, left without sufficient means, failed in the expedition against Constantine. Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon, attempted to excite to revolt the garrison of Strassburg (October, 1836). He was arrested and sent out of the kingdom; his accomplices were arraigned before the jury, but acquitted. But these failures were compensated for in the following years by some successes. The province of Oran was pacified; the army finally planted its banner upon the walls of Constantine (1837); in order to terminate long-standing quarrels with Mexico, an expedition was sent out which took possession of San Juan d'Ulloa, the capture of which gave the French the control of Vera Cruz and the principal custom-house of the country. Mexico paid a war indemnity. In all these affairs the king's sons distinguished themselves. Finally,

the birth of a son to the Duke of Orleans (1838) seemed to consolidate the power of the dynasty. The old king gave the child the title of Count of Paris.

Parliamentary Coalition. — Meantime in the Parliament a severe attack upon the ministry was being inaugurated. The recall of the French troops from Ancona, the cession of certain Belgian districts to the king of Holland, the refusal of the Powers to leave the province of Luxemburg in hands friendly to France, excited displeasure. With more care for the national honor, it was said, with more confidence in the strength of the country, these useless concessions to the system of peace at any price might have been avoided. But the real pretext for these attacks was the alleged insufficiency of the ministry. M. Guizot, the leader of the doctrinaires, a small party, but one full of talent and ambition, M. Thiers, the leader of a group of the left centre, and M. Odilon Barrot, formed a coalition against it.

The ministry wished to retire (January, 1839). The king refused to accept their resignations and appealed to the country, proclaiming the dissolution of the Chamber. The ministry was defeated and overthrown. Rivalries broke out in the coalition over the formation of a new ministry. After a prolonged ministerial crisis, accompanied by an outbreak in Paris, a cabinet was constituted under the presidency of Marshal Soult. None of the heads of the coalition took part in it. It lasted less than a year. Its principal achievement was the suppression of a revolt in Algeria under Abd-el-Kader.

The Eastern Question. — The most important affair of this cabinet was the Eastern Question. The Sultan had desired to recapture Syria from the Pasha of Egypt, but the son of Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim Pasha, had defeated the Ottomans. This victory opened to him the route to Constantinople. Should he march upon that city, the Russians would take possession of it under pretext of defending it; and once within its walls, they would perhaps never leave it. France, by her intervention, arrested the victorious Ibrahim. England then, in order at once to strengthen Turkey and weaken Egypt, planned to despoil Mehemet Ali of Syria. France had, in Constantinople, interests identical with those of Great Britain; but in Egypt the interests of the two seemed opposed. But in covering Constantinople the ministry made no stipulation in favor of Mehemet Ali, and accepted as regu-

lator in the affair a European Congress, in which it could, in advance, count upon four out of five votes against it.

Ministry of Thiers.—On the 1st of March, 1840, M. Thiers succeeded Marshal Soult as prime minister. After ten years of peace and material security the country was prosperous; but it was in a state of agitation. The minister tried to gain popularity by issuing an ordinance of amnesty. This was equivalent to restoring their chiefs to the Republicans. At the same time he increased the strength of the new party which was forming around the representative of the Napoleonic dynasty, by obtaining from England the restoration of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon, which were brought from St. Helena with great honor, by a fleet under the command of one of the king's sons.

Treaty of London.—But important events were taking place in the East. France and Mehemet Ali were warm allies. Europe, and particularly England, resolved to break up this alliance which placed under the same control Toulon, Algiers, Alexandria, Beirut, and the fleets of France and Egypt, and assured France the preponderance in the Mediterranean. In July England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed, without the participation of France, the treaty of London, which was to wrest Syria from the Pasha of Egypt. At this news a quiver of anger passed over the whole country; the government appeared to take part in this legitimate explosion of national feeling, yet was unwilling to engage in war under circumstances so disadvantageous. Desiring, however, to enable France to adopt a firm and dignified attitude, it began the fortification of Paris, and increased the army. Yet the isolated condition of France had its perils. The king was alarmed. He abandoned his ministry; M. Thiers gave place to M. Guizot (October, 1840).

Ministry of M. Guizot.—M. Guizot did not make enough of public opinion or national sentiment. He hastened to hold out his hand to England and the Powers, and caused France to return into what was called the European concert. This was equivalent to a treaty of peace. Disarmament immediately ensued, the army was reduced, and France was thrown back into the peaceful paths of commerce and industry. The activity of commercial transactions manifested the confidence which the upper middle class placed in the continuance of the ministry, which was, to their minds, the personification of peace.

In July, 1842, the Duke of Orleans, an amiable and deservedly beloved prince, was thrown from his carriage and killed, and a child of four years became the heir to the most burdensome of crowns. The hopes of the Legitimists revived; and the Liberals and Republicans expected their ideas to triumph, through the inevitable weakness of a regency. The Duke of Nemours, the least distinguished of the king's sons, was named regent.

The national feeling had been deeply wounded by the events of 1840. M. Guizot sought to compensate for this by various acquisitions in the Pacific. But little success resulted. In the Society Islands, at Tahiti, an English missionary had excited the natives against the French. He was driven from the island (1844); but his reports made a stir in the English Parliament, and the French cabinet committed the blunder of asking the Chambers to vote an indemnity for a man who had caused the blood of French soldiers to be shed. Other similar concessions increased the public irritation; they were considered fresh proofs of French weakness in the face of England. The recognition of a right of visitation on the part of England, in 1841, for the repression of the slave-trade, excited so intense an opposition, that the Chamber forced the minister to cancel the treaty.

Defeat and Capture of Abd-el-Kader. — For operations in Algeria, the minister had the good sense to choose an able and energetic man, General Bugeaud, who was capable of inspiring the Arabs with both fear and respect. Abd-el-Kader had violated his treaty, preached the Holy War, and, by the rapidity of his movements, spread terror through the province of Oran, and anxiety even to the gates of Algiers. The general pursued him without pausing as far as the western mountains, pacified that difficult region, and drove the enemy back into the desert. Having taken refuge in Morocco, Abd-el-Kader induced its emperor to take up arms in his cause. France replied to these provocations by the bombardment of Tangier and Mogadore, and by the victory of Isly, which General Bugeaud gained against much superior numbers. The Emperor made peace, and after a time, expelled Abd-el-Kader from his dominions. He was at once captured (November, 1847).

The Spanish Marriage. — Good relations with England were unwisely disturbed by the marriage of the Duke of

Montpensier with the sister of the queen of Spain. The younger branch of the house of Bourbon was eager to inherit the fortune of the elder branch in the Peninsula, and to deprive an English candidate of the reversion of Spain, as though time had not divested princely unions of almost all importance. England manifested great discontent at being outwitted. The ministry then, alarmed at the isolation in which France was about to be placed, made advances to Austria, and to win her, sacrificed to her Switzerland and Italy. Switzerland was then trying to reform her constitution so as to give more authority to the central power. But M. Guizot combated the Liberal party and favored the Sonderbund (the Separatists, 1847). The Austrians had occupied Ferrara and committed odious deeds of violence at Milan (February, 1848). M. Guizot contented himself with negotiating in favor of the victims. Thus France became the ally of an empire whose policy was then entirely one of oppression.

Internal Policy. — For several years the country enjoyed remarkable prosperity. Popular instruction was developed, the penal code was ameliorated, and the lottery suppressed. Industry took a forward leap, by the introduction of machines, and commerce increased. The coasts were provided with lighthouses, parish roads were improved, and the execution of a vast system of railroads projected. But these enterprises, as too often happens, gave rise to unlimited stock-jobbing.

Political Banquets. — The elections of 1846, carefully prepared and conducted by the administration, gave it a majority. But it was becoming evident that in the *pays légal*, that is, in the small body of electors (220,000), the political sense was being lost, and calculation was taking the place of patriotism; the electors sold their votes to the deputies; the elected, their suffrage to the ministers; and the representative institutions were vitiated at their source. The president of the Council, upheld by a factitious majority, assumed a haughty tone toward the opposition in Parliament. He had, at the time of the elections, made many promises of reforms. The deputies of the left centre and of the dynastic left, directed by M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot, challenged him to fulfil his promises. They demanded the revision of certain taxes, the electoral and parliamentary reforms vainly proposed at each session since

1842. The minister rejected these inoffensive claims; the opposition replied by seventy banquets held in the most important cities, at which the grievances of the country were set forth.

Paris belonged entirely to the opposition. A journal established by the Conservatives could not support itself. Even in that party itself disaffection showed itself. Several influential members of the majority went over to the opposition, and among the ministry itself several members objected to this extreme policy. But the presiding minister at the opening of the session of 1848 persisted in his irritating course. Exciting debates kept public opinion in a tumult for six weeks. External events, the victory of the Liberals in Switzerland, the movement in Italy, which was striving to escape from the oppression of Austria, reacted upon France. The opposition attempted a final demonstration, — the banquet of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris.

Revolution of the 24th of February, 1848. — The ministry prevented the meeting: immense crowds immediately gathered, and here and there disturbances broke out. On the evening of the 23d of February a Liberal ministry was appointed under the presidency of M. Thiers. But those who had commenced the movement found themselves unable to control it. The direction of the outbreak passed from their hands into those of experienced conspirators and veterans of the barricades, fighting men, who rushed into the crowd of the boulevards. To a shot fired upon the guard of the Foreign Office, the troops answered by a volley which cut down fifty inoffensive bystanders. At the sight of their dead bodies borne through the streets, amid cries of vengeance, the people of the faubourgs flew to arms. Marshal Bugeaud, commanding the army, had already taken proper steps to repress the riot, when, in the night of the 23d and 24th, he received from the new ministry the order to withdraw his troops to the Tuileries. Rather than obey this senseless order, he resigned his command, and the resistance was paralyzed. The national guard did nothing; the Revolution followed. Abandoned by the Parisian bourgeoisie, Louis Philippe believed himself to be also abandoned by all France. At noon he abdicated and departed, protected by a few regiments, without being followed or molested.

The Duke of Orleans was dead, the Prince of Joinville and the Duke of Aumale absent. There were left, with the

Duke of Nemours, not a popular prince, and the young Duke of Montpensier, a woman and a child, the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of Paris. The duchess presented herself before the Chamber with the Count of Paris, but the insurgents followed her there and caused a provisional government to be proclaimed, composed of M. Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, Lamartine, Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin and Garnier-Pagès. Thus through the incapacity of the government and the audacity of a party, France had, instead of a reform regularly carried out by the public authorities, a new insurrection which was to arrest work, destroy millions, shed blood, and interrupt the peaceful progress of the country.

III.

THE REPUBLIC OF 1848.

The Provisional Government. — On the evening of the 24th the provisional government proclaimed the Republic. The provinces, resigning themselves as usual to the measures taken at the capital, appeared to accept the Republic. M. Ledru-Rollin everywhere replaced the prefects by commissioners charged with administering public affairs in the spirit of the new government; and to reassure Europe, Lamartine declared in a manifesto that the Republic threatened no one, but that she would everywhere prevent intervention for the repression of the legitimate claims of the peoples. Arago issued a decree emancipating the blacks in the colonies.

Meanwhile industry and commerce were interrupted, the revenues of the State diminished, and the abolition of the salt-tax and a few other unpopular taxes diminished them still more. The minister of finances was therefore obliged to levy an extraordinary tax. Many manufactories had been closed, and thousands of workmen were left without food, and in a fit state to become the dupes of the prevalent communistic doctrines. The provisional government committed the imprudence of guaranteeing them work, when it had neither work to be done nor money to pay for it, and it authorized one of its members, M. Louis Blanc, to discuss the relations of labor and capital with delegations of laboring men. Finally, to occupy the working class, it established

national workshops, in which dangerous idleness and discouraged honesty were thrown together.

These excitements brought about a fresh contest. The national guard made an imposing demonstration in behalf of the bourgeoisie, the artisans a rival manifestation in favor of the proletariat. The provisional government was obliged every day to issue discourses and proclamations, to bring again into Paris a few battalions of the army, and to form an additional militia called the *garde mobile*.

Opening of the National Assembly; the Executive Committee. — After another socialistic manifestation, which was suppressed by the national guard (April), the electoral colleges assembled on Sunday, April 22. The elections took place for the first time by universal suffrage. The electors were thus increased in number from 220,000 to 9,000,000; an expansion for which nothing was prepared and which was certain to cause disturbances. On the 4th of May the Constituent Assembly met, solemnly proclaimed the Republic, and unwisely confided authority to an executive committee composed of five members, MM. Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin. It seemed that there was now nothing to be done but to draw up the constitution. But widely different views prevailed as to the nature of the revolution and the extent to which it should be carried.

Outbreaks of May and June. — On the 15th of May, under pretext of carrying to the deputies a petition in favor of Poland, a movement took place against the Chamber. Lamartine tried in vain to keep back the rioters by his eloquence; as many as two thousand of them crowded into the hall of the Deputies. Blanqui summoned the Assembly to declare immediate war upon Europe for the deliverance of Poland. Barbès demanded a tax of a thousand millions upon the rich. The president was driven from his seat, and the Assembly declared dissolved. Fortunately a few battalions of militia came up and dispersed the insurgents; the Assembly returned to its session. It soon after determined to abolish the national workshops, which formed an army of one hundred thousand proletarians, having arms, leaders, and discipline. This news excited the anger of the agitators and the despair of the working class, deceived by false hopes. On the 22d barricades were thrown up with astonishing rapidity in the faubourgs and soon occupied half of Paris. The Executive Committee had at its disposal only twenty

thousand soldiers of the line, the garde mobile, and a part of the national guard. With these troops, General Cavaignac occupied all the principal avenues. A frightful battle began in which legions of the national guard fought against other legions, in which the garde mobile, composed of men of the people, struggled with the workmen. The Assembly forced the Executive Committee to send in their resignations and appointed Cavaignac chief of the executive department. The struggle continued. The archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, while attempting mediation, fell a martyr to his patriotic zeal. Finally, the insurrection was driven back into the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and the insurgents surrendered. This battle of four days had cost the two parties five thousand killed, among whom were seven generals and two representatives: four other generals and three representatives were wounded. Twelve thousand prisoners or persons arrested afterward were transported to Africa.

The Republic was greatly weakened by this frightful struggle. The Assembly hastened to lay the basis of a new government with a single legislative assembly and an elective president. There were two prominent candidates for the presidency of the Republic,—General Cavaignac, chief, since June 24, of the executive department; and Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the Emperor. General Cavaignac, a man of noble character, received 1,448,107 votes against 5,434,226 given for the prince (December 10).

Presidency of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.—Louis Napoleon, born in 1808, the third son of Hortense de Beauharnais and Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland, had twice, in 1836 and in 1840, attempted without success, at Strassburg and at Boulogne, to reawaken sympathy for the name of Napoleon and the glory of the Empire. After the second attempt he was condemned by the Court of Peers and shut up in the château of Ham, from which he escaped in 1846. The revolution of February revived his hopes. An active propaganda obtained for him many suffrages, and the mistakes of the Republicans and the magic of his name did the rest. His election to the presidency was a protest against the government which Paris had imposed on France on the 24th of February.

The new constitution was ill-suited to the times and the

circumstances under which it was produced. The executive and the legislative had the same origin, because they both proceeded from universal suffrage, and because they were renewed, the one after three, the other after four years of exercise. But the President had this advantage, that, elected by millions of votes, he seemed to represent the entire nation. Antagonism between the two was inevitable. Moreover, the President had been given either too much power or too little; and with the temptation to assume the usual prerogatives of public authority, he had been also given the means of success. The President and the Assembly, however, agreed upon the questions of establishing order and repressing the extreme parties.

The European revolutions, born of the revolution of February, had been promptly suppressed by the kings. Austria, victorious in Hungary, thanks to the Russians, had defeated Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, at Novara, and Lombardy had again fallen into her power. The republic proclaimed at Rome, after the flight of the Pope, vainly tried to defend itself. In order to prevent the establishment of Austrian domination throughout the peninsula, it was thought necessary for France, in intervening, to bring to an end the Roman Republic. The Prince-President and the Assembly sent a French army into Italy under the command of General Oudinot. The Parisian Republicans tried, by an insurrection, to save the Roman Republic. But the outbreak was at once suppressed. General Oudinot entered Rome, after a brief siege, and restored the Pope. The Legislative Assembly, which succeeded the Constituent Assembly, approved the conduct of the President, and the French troops remained at Rome for the protection of the Holy Father.

The Legislative Assembly (1849-1851). — The new Assembly (May 28, 1849) numbered fewer Republicans and socialists, and a much larger number of its members united under the general denomination of friends of order; but many of these latter were in correspondence with the Bourbon or the Orleans princes. The session of 1850 was marked by a law which struck off three million electors, by requiring, for the obtaining of a ballot, the proof of an actual residence of three years in the electoral district. In that of 1851, irritating discussions took the place of the transaction of business. The powers of the President and those of the Assem-

bly were both to terminate in the following year, 1852, with an interval of three months, and universal suffrage, which had now become restricted suffrage, was to be called upon almost at the same time to renew the two chief authorities of the Republic. In the state of anxiety into which this doubtful future plunged the country, petitions which bore signatures numbering 1,500,000 were addressed to the Assembly, praying for the revision of the constitution. But the Assembly was greatly divided. Many demanded that nothing fundamental should be changed; some would consent to a revision of the article which forbade the re-election of the President; others desired a complete revision which might open the way for the restoration of one or other of the three fallen monarchies. The necessary three-fourths vote could not be obtained.

On the 4th of November, 1851, the President demanded the re-establishment of universal suffrage. The Assembly, persisting in excluding from the ballot the nomadic or floating population, rejected the presidential proposition. On the following days irritating debates rendered the situation still more difficult; a few spoke of imprisoning the Prince at Vincennes. But an assembly is always feeble in action. The Prince, on the other hand, had on his side the army, a part of the Parisian population, almost all France, tired of these disorders, and unity of command: he could therefore await an attack, but he preferred to forestall it.

The Coup d'Etat. — On the morning of December 2 the leaders of the different parties in the Assembly were arrested at their homes, and the palace of the Assembly was occupied by an armed force. At the same time a decree from the President declared the Assembly dissolved and universal suffrage re-established, and proposed to the people the outlines of a new constitution with a responsible head elected for ten years. Resistance was attempted in the centre of Paris and on the boulevards, but after a short struggle was suppressed. Vigorous measures promptly restored tranquillity. The people, by 7,437,216 affirmative votes against 640,737 negative, accepted the constitution proposed by the President, and gave him power for ten years. Thus frightened France gave herself to Louis Napoleon, and the great current of 1789 was once more turned aside. During these sixty years, instead of advancing slowly and surely by regular progress, France had moved

by leaps and bounds, running in a few months from one extremity of the political world to the other.

The decennial presidency was only a journey towards the Empire. The new constitution, published in January, 1852, had borrowed its principles from the institutions of the Consulate and the Empire, and under the semblance of liberality, concealed the omnipotence of the Prince. The head of the State was responsible, and governed by the aid of ministers who depended on himself alone. Two assemblies were instituted: the Corps Législatif, an outgrowth of universal suffrage, had the power to vote laws and taxes; a Senate, composed of the distinguished men of the country, was to watch over the preservation and development of the constitution. Councillors of State, appointed as were the Senators, by the Prince, prepared laws, defended them before the Corps Législatif, and examined the amendments. Before putting the constitution into effect, the President, clothed with the Dictatorship, remodelled the whole administration. The national guard was reorganized and placed at the disposal of the executive, the press again put under the jurisdiction of the correctionary tribunals, the government of the departments concentrated in the hands of the prefects, the nomination of the mayors restored to the government. Order being restored, labor resumed its activity. Carried away by the movement which had taken possession of it after the first vote in favor of Louis Napoleon in 1848, the nation hoped to find repose and order in the bosom of a hereditary monarchy.

IV.

THE SECOND EMPIRE.

(1852-1870 A.D.)

Re-establishment of the Empire (1852).—A senatus-consultum proposed to the people the re-establishment of the imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, with heredity in his direct descent, legitimate or adoptive; the people adopted this proposition on the 21st and 22d of November, by 7,839,552 affirmative votes against 254,501 negatives, and the Empire was solemnly proclaimed on the 2d of December, 1852. Thus the nation ratified the coup

d'état of the 2d of December, 1851, as she had ratified that of the 18th Brumaire, and voluntarily linked her destiny to that of the Napoleons. The new Emperor took the title of Napoleon III. From his marriage with Eugénie de Guzman, a Spanish countess, was born, in 1856, the Prince Imperial. The Empire was extremely popular; the Emperor was not a *roi fainéant*. He had two special aims: at home, to give satisfaction to the general needs of the country as well as to popular interests; abroad, to improve the political situation of France, which was still suffering from the great reverses of 1815.

Benevolent Institutions.—The savings-bank system was extended, as were also the operations of mutual benefit societies. Arrangements were made for bringing justice and medical relief more easily within the reach of the poor. Attention was given to the sanitary improvement of workmen's dwellings. Three establishments were founded for convalescents discharged from the hospitals. Workingmen's pensions were proposed.

Public Works; Encouragements to Agriculture, Industry, and the Arts.—The government gave to public works an activity which, in ten years, almost renewed the great cities, but also overexcited speculation and led to disasters. Paris was almost rebuilt, on a magnificent plan, and well provided with sewers. Other cities followed the example. The Louvre was finished; boulevards were cut through, old quarters made healthy, new ones called into existence, schools, *mairies*, and churches built in each *arrondissement*; in the centre, the Halles constructed in an original style; everywhere gardens and promenades laid out; and at the two extremities of the city, the magnificent Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes. Railroads, the construction of which had until then been carried on slowly, in a few years reached from the centre to the extremities, beside the new network of cross-lines. Immense works were also carried on in the construction of canals, roads, and ports, and the restoration of the churches.

The organization of boards of agriculture, the establishment of agricultural prizes, contributed to spread the best methods among farmers and breeders. Special institutions for their benefit were founded. The renewal of forests on the mountains, the division and sale of common lands, were facilitated. A subvention of 100,000,000 was appropriated

to facilitate, by advances of money, the employment of systems of draining, and portions of lands hitherto considered unfit for culture were reclaimed by this method. A law was prepared for the completion of parish roads, and elementary instruction in agriculture was required in the schools.

Institutions of Credit; Freedom of Trade. — The *Crédit Foncier* allowed the landed proprietors to raise their mortgages more easily and to improve their property; the *Crédit Mobilier* caused credit to circulate more rapidly, too rapidly indeed, since failures resulted; and the State in contracting loans instead of addressing itself solely to the bankers, invited all the citizens to take part in the operation by direct subscription. After the example of England, free trade was established: beginning in 1860, commercial treaties on the basis of free trade were signed with England, Belgium, Italy, Turkey, etc. Imprisonment for debt was abolished. In 1855, and again in 1867, universal exhibitions were held in Paris which stimulated industrial activity. To foster foreign commerce, new lines of steamships from the Atlantic ports to America, and from the Mediterranean ports to Asia, were established with government aid. In 1862, as a result of these measures, the annual amount of importations and exportations had tripled in twelve years. The right of workmen to combine for the securing of higher wages was recognized by a law of 1864. Co-operative societies were encouraged by one of 1867. Pauperism and crime were diminished.

Education. — In fifteen years the number of children who received primary instruction was increased by a million; school-houses were multiplied and the condition of the masters improved. Thirteen thousand school libraries were established. The education of girls was organized, and evening schools for adults established on a large scale. Technical schools were founded, and the *École des Hautes Études* instituted for advanced scientific researches.

Foreign Policy; Crimean War (1854–1856). — There were, during this reign, wars which the nation accepted as necessities of its old traditions of national policy and military honor. There were also, unfortunately, some of which she disapproved; and the Second Empire fell on account of having undertaken one which was inevitable, but for which it was not prepared.

Since the treaties of 1815 Russia had exercised a menac-

ing preponderance in Europe. The Czar Nicholas had become the personification of a formidable system of repression and conquest. He thought that the presence of a Napoleon on the throne of France would guarantee to Russia the alliance of the English, and believed that the moment had arrived to seize the eternal object of Muscovite covetousness,—Constantinople. He assumed a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire; he ended by trying to have a secret understanding with England for the division of the spoils of the Sultan. In 1853 he sent forces to occupy the Danubian Principalities and armed at Sebastopol a fleet which seemed formidable. The Emperor gave the first signal for resistance, drew England, which at first hesitated, into his alliance, and assured himself of the neutrality of Austria and Prussia. The destruction by the Russians of a Turkish flotilla was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. The English and French fleet entered the Black Sea while an army forwarded from Great Britain and France assembled under the walls of Constantinople. In September, 1854, the allies, seventy thousand strong, landed on the shores of the Crimea, and the victory of the Alma enabled them to begin the siege of Sebastopol. That siege, the most terrible known in the annals of modern history, lasted almost a year. Continual battles were sustained, two victories, those of Inkerman and Traktir, won, and a struggle bravely maintained against a terrible climate and an enemy continually reinforced. Finally, in September, 1855, French dash and English firmness received their reward. The city was taken, and some months after, the Emperor Nicholas died, foreseeing the ruin of his vast designs.

The English and French fleet in the Baltic had destroyed Bomarsund, and in the Black Sea the French armored gunboats, employed for the first time, had laid Southern Russia open; an allied squadron had even taken Petropaulovsk on the Pacific Ocean. The Czar Alexander II., the successor of Nicholas, asked for peace: it was concluded at Paris. This peace (March, 1856) neutralized the Black Sea, and consequently prevented Russia from having a fleet of war upon it; took from her some parts of Bessarabia, opened the navigation of the Danube to its mouth, and gave security to the rights of neutrals during maritime wars. France recovered the plenitude of her influence in Europe. The visits of various sovereigns to the Emperor Napoleon III. were a

brilliant manifestation of the greatness which she had regained. But this glory was the sole advantage that she derived from the war. When her misfortunes came, the Russians remembered Sebastopol, and England forgot it.

The Italian War; Peace of Villafranca (1859). — During the Crimean War the king of Sardinia had not feared to join his new army to the English and French troops. This circumstance had made France the protector of Piedmont, and consequently of Italy, of which this little kingdom was the last citadel. Accordingly when the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, in 1859 crossed the Ticino to attack Sardinia, the French Emperor hastened to assist the latter. The war lasted scarcely two months. After the brilliant affair of Montebello, the French and Piedmontese army concentrated around Alessandria; then by a bold and skilful movement turned the right of the Austrians, and compelled them to recross the Ticino. Hemmed in between the army of General MacMahon and the guard at Magenta, the Austrians lost seven thousand killed and wounded, and eight thousand prisoners (June 4). Two days after, the French regiments entered Milan. The enemy then abandoned their first line of defence, and fell back upon the Quadrilateral. Here they had one hundred and sixty thousand men, strongly placed, on ground carefully studied, near the village of Solferino. Napoleon III. attacked them with one hundred and forty thousand and gained a complete victory (June 24).

Italy was delivered, except that Venetia remained in the possession of Austria. The Emperor signed the peace of Villafranca, by which Austria abandoned Lombardy, which France ceded to Piedmont, and accepted the Mincio for her boundary in the peninsula, the different states of which were to form a confederation under the presidency of the Pope. But all the parties interested rejected this plan, and the revolutionary movement continued. All those governments crumbled which, since 1814, had been only lieutenantcies of Austria, and Italy was henceforth to form one kingdom, with the exception of Venice and Rome. As the price of the assistance he had rendered, the Emperor had Savoy and Nice ceded to him, which added three departments to France, and extended her southern frontier to the ridge of the Alps.

Expeditions and Wars outside of Europe. — In 1860 the massacre of the Christian Maronites by the Druses of Syria

again demonstrated the utter incapacity of the Ottoman Empire to protect its subjects. France had the honor to be commissioned by the great powers to send and maintain a body of troops in Syria to aid the Turkish government in punishing the criminals. M. de Lesseps, under the auspices of the French government, began at the Isthmus of Suez a canal which was to unite the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and open direct communication between Europe and the extreme East. In 1860, also, France and England had been obliged to send an expedition against China, which had violated a treaty previously made with it. In less than six months the allied fleets transported fifteen thousand men and an immense supply of ammunition six thousand leagues from the French coast, to the banks of the Pei-ho. The mouths of the river were forced, the forts which defended them were captured after a vigorous and brilliant assault, and the Chinese defeated in the battle of Palikao. The allied armies entered Peking to receive the ratification of the treaty, in virtue of which the Chinese government agreed to admit the English and French ambassadors into the capital, paid an indemnity of 120,000,000, opened the port of Tien-tsin, guaranteed advantageous commercial conditions to the conquerors, and restored to France the churches and cemeteries belonging to the Christians. The Celestial Empire was thrown open and, as a consequence, the Empire of Japan also.

The French government profited by the presence of its forces in these regions to carry out an expedition against the empire of Annam, begun two years before, when France had taken possession of Saigon, and made it the capital of an establishment at the mouth of the great river Cambodia. Troops returning from China defeated the Annamites and imposed upon their emperor a peace which stipulated for consideration for the missionaries, an advantageous commercial treaty, and the possession of three provinces around the mouths of the Cambodia, in an extremely fertile country, between the Indies and China, within reach of the Philippines and the Moluccas.

France, England, and Spain had long had injuries to avenge and complaints to make against the anarchical government of Mexico. At the beginning of the year 1862 the three powers agreed to act in unison, but soon the cabinets of London and Madrid renounced the enterprise. France

persisted. It became necessary to send, instead of the six thousand men who had first set out, as many as thirty-five thousand soldiers. Puebla, the key of Mexico, was captured after a heroic resistance, in May, 1863. A few days after (June 10), the French army entered Mexico, and the people, at the suggestion of France, proclaimed an Austrian prince, the Archduke Maximilian, Emperor. After the departure of the French troops, in 1867, the unfortunate prince was taken and shot by the Republicans. This imprudent and ill-conceived expedition was a great injury to French politics and French finances.

Transformation of the Authoritative Empire into the Liberal Empire. — Great internal prosperity made the nation in general content. In the cities, it is true, the working class was continually agitated by social questions, and by remembrances of the Republic; but the agricultural population asked only a continuation of order. The bourgeois class, enriched by an industry the extent of which was due to freedom of labor and trade, began to claim those liberties and securities which they had in 1852 sacrificed for the moment to the fear of civil disturbances. They wished for the suppression of official candidacies in order to release the country from tutelage; and to secure a voluntary and honest expression of the national will, they demanded that, conformably to the ideas of 1789, the State should be conducted like a great industrial society, with economy and prudence, and for the benefit, and by the action, only of those interested.

In the present age a dictatorship can only be temporary. Napoleon III. knew it and had early declared that liberty should one day crown the new political edifice. In 1860 he associated the Corps Législatif more directly with the policy of the government. In 1861 he renounced the right to decree extraordinary credits in the interval between the sessions. In 1867 he gave the ministers entrance to the Chambers, so that they could at any time give an account of their acts to the country. In 1868 he caused more liberal laws to be enacted respecting the press and the rights of public meeting. But the unfortunate issue of the expedition to Mexico, and the threatening position assumed in Germany by Prussia after her victory at Sadowa over the Austrians, and the advance of public spirit, favored by the general prosperity, brought about more earnest longings for liberty,

as was shown by the elections of 1869. Therefore the Emperor renounced his personal authority, and in April, 1870, proposed to the French people the transformation of the authoritative Empire into a liberal Empire. On the 8th of May, 7,300,000 citizens answered yes to his proposition, against 1,500,000 who answered no.

In order to make the organization of the country conform to the new constitution, great reforms were necessary. France had long been excessively centralized. It was necessary to rest the institutions of the State upon broad communal and departmental institutions, and in some instances even provincial institutions. It was necessary furthermore to simplify and rejuvenate the central administration, to instruct and arm the people, to make citizens by the practice of an austere liberty, and to make patriots by the national and moral education of the whole French people. But for all this, time and men were wanting.

Approach of War with Prussia.—A great mistake had been made before Sadowa. Thinking that the unity of Germany was possible with and by the aid of Austria, the Emperor allowed that power to be crushed. In reality, the peril for France was not at Vienna, but at Berlin. Prussia, which since Frederick the Great had dreamed of reconstructing the Germanic Empire, knew well that she could attain that good fortune, so menacing to Europe, only after a military humiliation of France, and made preparations for the accomplishment of this end, with indefatigable perseverance. German patriotism was excited against “the hereditary enemy.” She armed all her people from the age of twenty to sixty; she required of her officers the most complete instruction, of her troops the strictest discipline, and by an organization which left no portion of her national forces inactive, by a foresight which utilized all the resources of industry and science, she constituted, in the centre of Europe, the most formidable machine of war that the world had ever seen,—1,500,000 trained and armed men; every man a soldier. And this formidable machine she confided to men held back by no scruple where Prussian aggrandizement was concerned.

France saw nothing, or wished to see nothing, of these immense preparations which were achieved even on her own territory by the minute and secret study of all her means of action or resistance. Ideas of economy dominated the

Corps Législatif; a blind confidence in her military superiority hindered her from proportioning her forces to the greatness of the approaching struggle, and through the incapacity of men, and the insufficiency of the administrative system, those at hand were ill-employed.

CONTINUATION.

THE GERMAN WAR AND THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

(1870-1896 A.D.)

Origin of the War with Germany. — Ever since Sadowa, the relations between France and the North German Confederation then formed had been strained. In 1867 the attempt of the French Emperor to obtain possession of Luxemburg by purchase from its grand-duke, the king of the Netherlands, was foiled by the opposition of Prussia; but war was for the time averted. But Napoleon was surrounded by influences hostile to the maintenance of peace with Prussia, and was also urged towards war by considerations of the internal politics of France. Towards the end of May, 1870, the Duke of Gramont, a bitter opponent of Prussia, was made minister of foreign affairs. The actual occasion of the outbreak of war between the two rival powers was a proposition respecting the throne of Spain, which had now been vacant since 1868. In the beginning of July the Spanish ministers announced their intention to recommend to the throne Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a Catholic German prince remotely related to the Hohenzollerns of the royal family of Prussia. Gramont protested to King William, through the French ambassador, Benedetti. The king disclaimed all responsibility. At the same time Prince Leopold declined the proffered crown. Benedetti was instructed to demand from the Prussian king an assurance that the candidacy should not be renewed. The king refused, declined to hold further intercourse with Benedetti, and recalled his own ambassador from Paris. On July 19 the French government declared war.

Beginning of the War; Weissenburg to Sedan. — Both governments began pushing forward troops into the narrow space of eighty miles between Luxemburg and the Rhine.

It was the Emperor's plan to gather one hundred thousand men at Strassburg, his main army of one hundred and fifty thousand at Metz, retaining a reserve of fifty thousand at Châlons, and, with the two hundred and fifty thousand men thus concentrated on the frontier, to cross the Rhine opposite Carlsruhe. Then he proposed to push in between North Germany and the South German states, expecting the latter to join him against Prussia. But his preparations for war were most incomplete, especially in comparison with those of the Germans. By August 2 the latter had four hundred and fifty thousand men gathered in the space between Trier and Landau; the South Germans enthusiastically joined in the war. On the 4th and 6th the left wing of the German army, under the crown prince of Prussia, attacked and defeated portions of Marshal MacMahon's army at Weissenburg and Wörth, and forced him to retreat. At the same time the French left was driven back at Spicheren.

The German armies now made a general advance into France. The main army of the French, under Bazaine, retreated to Metz, and attempted to cross the Moselle at that point in order to retire upon Châlons. But the German forces overtook them and, by the terrible battles at Mars-la-Tour, Vionville, and Gravelotte, fought before Metz on August 16 and 18, cut off their retreat westward from that city. At Gravelotte the Germans lost twenty thousand killed and wounded; the French lost twelve thousand, and were shut up in Metz. Three days later Marshal MacMahon, accompanied by the Emperor, set out from Châlons with one hundred and fifty thousand men, and marched northeastward toward the Meuse. His plan was to cross that river at Stenay, and then, approaching Metz from the north, to release Bazaine. But the Germans, learning of his design, sent two armies down the Meuse, which anticipated him, secured Stenay, prevented his advance to Metz, cut off his retreat to Paris, and hemmed him in at Sedan, near the Belgian frontier. Here, on the first of September, a great and memorable battle occurred, in which the French were entirely defeated, failing in all efforts to break through the German lines. On the 2d the Emperor surrendered, with all his army. Three thousand had been killed and fourteen thousand wounded in the battle; one hundred and four thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Germans as the result of the battle and the capitulation. Napoleon was

given the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, as a residence during his captivity.

Establishment of the Republic; Sieges of Strassburg, Metz, and Paris. — When the news of the disaster of Sedan reached Paris, the lower house, in a tumultuary assembly, deposed the Emperor and proclaimed France a republic, September 4. A provisional government was set up called the Government of National Defence, and consisting of eleven members, of whom the most noted were MM. Favre, Gambetta, Simon, Ferry, and Rochefort. General Trochu was made president and governor-general of Paris. MM. Favre and Thiers vainly attempted to negotiate with the Germans, who on the 19th arrived before Paris with one hundred and fifty thousand men. A month later the forces amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand. The wide circuit of the fortifications of the city was defended by four hundred thousand men, of whom only a small part were regular or highly disciplined troops. Sorties were made, but repulsed. Gambetta, escaping from Paris, actively organized armies for the relief of the city. One of these advanced from the Loire in October and November, but was repulsed. Meanwhile Strassburg had been forced to surrender at the end of September, with its garrison of nearly eighteen thousand, and at the end of October Bazaine surrendered Metz, with his great army of one hundred and seventy-nine thousand. This released two hundred thousand Germans troops, its besiegers, who thereupon marched toward Paris.

Defeat of the Armies of Relief. — The organization of forces for the relief of the capital was pushed with such energy that by the end of the year there were probably a million Frenchmen in arms. But most of these were imperfectly trained. The repulse of the army of the Loire, already mentioned, led to the occupation of Orleans by the Germans on December 5. In the north, Rouen was occupied on the same day.

Communication between the city and the relieving armies was kept up by various ingenious means, and the advances of the latter were accompanied by sorties on the part of the former. The army of the North, under General Faidherbe, was destroyed after much obstinate fighting. The army of the Loire, compelled to retreat after a four days' battle at Beaugency under General Chanzy, was divided. A part was joined with the army of the West, under

Chanzy's command. This army was routed at Le Mans on January 11 and 12, 1871, by Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, and having also suffered intensely from hunger and cold, for the winter was a very severe one, was unable to engage in further operations of any importance. The remainder of the army of the Loire had been joined to the army of the East, under Bourbaki, who was ordered by Gambetta to march eastward and relieve Belfort, and then, turning northward, to free Alsace and Lorraine from the Germans, cut off the communications between the besiegers of Paris and their own country, cross the Rhine, and invade South Germany. Werder, strongly intrenched behind the Lisaine, sustained a three days' attack from Bourbaki (January 15-18), who was then driven southward by Manteuffel. The retreat of this army was cut off, and it was compelled, to the number of ninety thousand men, to pass over the frontier into Switzerland, where it was disarmed (February 1). Another force in the southeast, under the Italian liberator Garibaldi, was compelled to remain inactive.

Capitulation of Paris ; Conclusion of Peace. — Meanwhile the army besieging Paris, under the command of King William, with Count von Moltke as his chief military adviser, had, on December 27, begun the bombardment of Paris. A desperate attempt to break through the besieging army on January 19 was defeated. The city had now been under siege for four months ; it had endured great sufferings and privations, and its stores of provisions were almost exhausted. Negotiations were entered into, and on January 28 an armistice for three weeks was signed, during which a National Assembly was to meet to decide whether peace should be signed on the terms offered by the Germans. Bourbaki's army, then near its destruction, was not included in the armistice. Paris was to pay a war contribution of 200,000,000 fr. within a fortnight.

The elections to the National Assembly resulted in the choice of a body mostly belonging to the conservative parties. It met at Bordeaux on February 13. The Government of National Defence resigned its powers to the Assembly, which elected M. Thiers head of the executive department. On the 26th, to which date the armistice had been prolonged, he and two of his ministers signed preliminaries of peace with the Germans, which were ratified by the National Assembly on March 1. These preliminaries

provided that France should cede to Germany Alsace, excepting Belfort, and that portion of Lorraine in which German is spoken, Metz and Thionville being included, — a cession of 5500 square miles of territory, with a population of 1,500,000; that she should pay the sum of five milliards (billions) of francs, one milliard in 1871, and the rest within three years; and that German troops should occupy parts of her soil until the whole was paid. The definitive treaty, signed at Frankfort on May 10 by M. Favre and Prince Bismarck, did not greatly differ from these preliminaries. During the war the South German states had joined themselves to the North German Confederation, and on January 18 the German Empire had been formally proclaimed at Versailles with the king of Prussia as Emperor.

The Commune. — The National Assembly removed from Bordeaux to Versailles. Already, however, a dangerous internal enemy had appeared in Paris. The extreme or Red Republicans had twice during the siege broken out in insurrection. They now, in wild excitement, seized possession of a large number of cannon, fortified the heights of Montmartre and Chaumont on the north and northeast parts of Paris, and then occupied the Hôtel de Ville and obtained control of the city. These movements were undertaken under the authority of a Central Committee of the national guard. The ideas lying at the basis of this insurrection were not simply the old revolutionary ideas of political equality, but also those more modern ideas of social equality which fanatical socialists, aiming at the abolition of religion, marriage, inheritance, and individual property in land, had propagated through the "International Workingmen's Association." With these were joined certain extreme notions of local self-government or the independence of communes. The Central Committee ordered the election of a Commune of Paris on March 26; a body of Radicals was chosen and installed as the government of Paris. It organized in committees, each presiding over one of the departments of government, passed much revolutionary legislation, and prepared to hold the city against the National Assembly and the Versailles government.

M. Thiers' government delayed decisive measures until, by return of prisoners from Germany, a sufficient force of regular troops was at hand. Hostilities between the Versailles troops and the insurgents began on the 2d of April.

On the next day a sortie from Paris toward Versailles was repulsed. Marshal MacMahon was given the command of the Assembly's troops, the investment was made complete, and by the middle of May the southwestern forts were in possession of the besiegers. Within the city, meantime, all was in a state of rapid disorganization. Jealousy and distrust prevailed within the Commune and the Central Committee. Frequent changes of commanders resulted, each in turn being removed or resigning on finding it impossible to maintain his authority. Confiscation within and the pressure from without increased the disaffection of the inhabitants toward the insurrectionary government.

Finally, on May 21, the government troops entered the capital. The insurgents, driven back, shot a large number of prisoners held as hostages, conspicuous among whom was Mgr. Darboy, archbishop of Paris, drenched the chief public buildings with petroleum and set fire to them. The greater part of the Tuileries, the Library of the Louvre, a portion of the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, a part of the Luxembourg, and many other public buildings were destroyed. After an obstinate and savage conflict the insurrection was completely stifled. Severe military executions accompanied the suppression of the revolt, members of the Commune in particular being shot whenever captured. During the week's fighting ten thousand insurgents were killed.

The Assembly and M. Thiers. — A majority of the National Assembly belonged to one or another of the Conservative groups. Of these one, called the Legitimist party, desired that the direct line of the Bourbons should be called to the throne of France in the person of the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X., called by his party Henry V. Another, the party of the Orleanists, desired the restoration of the limited or July monarchy in the person of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, or of the latter's son, the Duke of Aumale. There was also a group of Bonapartists, whose candidate was the young Prince Imperial. M. Thiers, personally inclined to constitutional monarchy, considered himself bound to uphold the Republic. The Count of Chambord returned to France, but issued a manifesto so uncompromisingly royalist as to make difficult his candidacy. The Orleanist princes were also allowed to return to France and eventually were permitted to take their seats in the Assembly to which they had been elected.

The Assembly frequently found itself in conflict with M. Thiers. Yet in the present divided state of parties he was felt to be indispensable, as the only possible executive. At the end of August he was accorded the title of President of the Republic for as long a time as the present Assembly should last. Although the framing of an entire new constitution was deferred, an important measure dealing with the government of departments was passed: it provided for the election, in each department, of a *conseil général* or local legislature, and was thus a measure of decentralization, abridging the powers of the prefects appointed from Paris. In the ensuing spring the council of state was again called into existence.

The Milliards; Reorganization of the Army.—Both M. Thiers and the Assembly united in desiring to pay to Germany as soon as possible the stipulated indemnity, and rid the French soil of the demoralizing presence of the army of occupation. When, in 1876, subscriptions were invited for a loan of two and a half milliards for this purpose, seven and a half milliards were subscribed; while toward the loan of three and a half milliards in 1872, subscriptions to the amount of forty-three milliards were received. This not only demonstrated the confidence which French and foreign capitalists, in spite of the recent disasters, had in the future of France, but enabled the German evacuation to take place before the appointed term: the last German soldier crossed the frontier in September, 1873.

While thus paying for its military reverses, France was determined that they should not occur again. After animated debates, a bill for the reorganization of the army was passed in July, 1872. It provided for universal military service during a period of five years as the maximum, but of a considerably less extent in many cases. Trials of communists went on during 1872, and at the end of 1873, a court-martial condemned Marshal Bazaine to death for the surrender of Metz; but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment.

Constitutional Questions; Fall of M. Thiers.—The death of Napoleon III., at Chiselmhurst, in England, in January, 1873, seriously weakened the Bonapartist cause. Meanwhile, however, movements towards a more definitive settlement of the constitution, which had occupied a great portion of the year 1872, were continued. Though the less

conservative Republican members, under the leadership of Gambetta, maintained that the Assembly had no authority to frame a constitution, not having been elected for that purpose, the principal struggles were between M. Thiers and the majority of the Assembly, consisting of the three sections of the Right, or monarchical party. The aged president endeavored with much skill to maintain the power of the executive and, with that end in view, to secure the establishment of a second Chamber. The Right strove to limit the president's right of participation in debate, which, in the hands of so eloquent a speaker and so skilful a parliamentarian as M. Thiers, was a formidable power, which they opposed the more strenuously as they saw him gradually inclining to advocate the Republic as the definitive form of government for France. Finally, on May 24, 1873, after prolonged conflict, the Assembly passed a vote adverse to M. Thiers and his ministry. He resigned his office, and on the same day Marshal MacMahon was chosen by the Assembly to succeed him as president.

Marshal MacMahon and the Septennate. — Marshal MacMahon was an elderly soldier, who had given little attention to politics, but was regarded as an honest and trustworthy man. A conservative ministry was formed under the Duke of Broglie, and many reactionary steps were taken. The Count of Chambord was visited at his residence at Frohsdorf, in Austria, by the Count of Paris, and by some leading members of the Orleanist Right, and hopes were for some time entertained that he would so far accommodate himself to ideas of constitutional monarchy as to enable the two Royalist parties to unite, and perhaps to unite successfully, in support of his candidacy for the throne. But at length the count, by declaring that if he accepted the monarchy it would be his duty to take it without compromises or conditions, with devotion to the Papacy, and under the white flag of the old Bourbon monarchy, frustrated these attempts at union. Marshal MacMahon now demanding an extension of powers, in the interests of good order and stability of government, the majority voted him possession of the presidency for a term of seven years (November, 1873). The control of the central government over the mayors of communes was made more complete. The Broglie ministry set about the preparation of a constitution for France, but in May, 1874, succumbed to the difficulties of the political sit-

uation. These difficulties arose mainly from the continued postponement of the fundamental question, whether the ultimate form of government in France was to be that of a republic or that of a monarchy. This gave a provisional character to the government of the Marshal-President, in the face of mutually hostile parties which were constantly manœuvring for partisan advantage.

The Constitution of 1875. — After prolonged struggles and exciting discussions, a vote favorable to the definitive establishment of the Republic was passed by one majority on the 30th of January. This principle once established, a permanent constitution for France was framed, not in one document, as in the United States, but in the form of a series of laws passed at intervals during the year 1875. The outlines of the constitution thus constructed, were as follows. Legislative power was to be exercised by two assemblies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was to consist of three hundred members, each forty years old. Of these, two hundred and twenty-five were to be elected by the departments, the electoral body in each department consisting of its deputies, its *conseil général*, its *conseils d'arrondissement*, and delegates elected by each commune. These senators were to have a term of nine years, one-third retiring by rotation every three years. The remaining seventy-five were to be chosen for life by the existing National Assembly; future vacancies in their number were to be filled by the Senate itself. The Chamber of Deputies was to consist of members chosen by universal suffrage, under the arrangement called the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, as opposed to the *scrutin de liste*. The latter plan was one in accordance with which, each department having a number of deputies proportioned to its population, each voter in the department was to vote for the whole number, on a general ticket. By the plan adopted, each *arrondissement* was entitled to one deputy, and if its population exceeded one hundred thousand, to two or more, but with division into single-member districts. Each voter thus voted for but one candidate. The executive government was to be in the hands of a President, chosen for seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies united in a single body called the National Assembly. He was to be re-eligible, to have the initiative of legislation concurrently with the two chambers, to execute the laws, to dispose of the armed forces, and to

appoint to all civil and military offices. With the assent of the Senate, he might dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the conclusion of its four years' term. He was to have a responsible ministry. In general, his position resembled that of a constitutional monarch, with other resemblances to that of the President of the United States. Amendments of the constitutional laws could, under certain forms, be effected by the two chambers united in National Assembly. The seventy-five senators chosen by the existing assembly were mostly eminent members of the Left. The last day of the year 1875 saw a final prorogation of this monarchist assembly which had established the Republic. It had been in existence nearly five years. The elections to the Senate gave a small majority to the Republicans. Those to the Chamber of Deputies (February, 1876) gave about two-thirds of its five hundred and thirty-two seats to Republicans, mostly moderate Republicans.

Ministry of M. Dufaure.—The ministry to which the leadership of this assembly was soon confided, was therefore naturally a ministry of moderate Republicans. M. Dufaure was prime minister, and M. Léon Say minister of finance. The latter, a distinguished economist and financier, addressed himself to the task of promoting order and economy in the national finances. The general spirit in which they have since been managed has not been marked by the same degree of sobriety and caution. The long period which elapses before the publication of the definitive accounts of a given year, the frequency of the introduction of supplementary estimates after the passage of the annual budget, and the facility with which additional loans have been resolved upon, have not tended toward either economy or system. The result is that deficits occur each year, and that in the middle of the year 1889 the debt of France is much the largest in Europe, probably amounting, all things included, to not less than 40,000,000,000 francs, or about \$8,000,000,000, which is more than twice as great as that of the United Kingdom, the next largest of the public debts of the world.

The Dufaure ministry was not long-lived, being succeeded before the year 1876 closed, by a ministry led by M. Jules Simon, a distinguished orator and writer. The tenure of French cabinets in general has been so little permanent under the Third Republic, that in the nineteen years which

have elapsed since the fall of the Empire, twenty-five cabinets have had charge of the executive government. The chambers have not been divided, as has been usual during the period of cabinet government in England, between two clearly defined political parties, so that changes of cabinet consist in the substitution of an executive committee drawn from one party, for an executive committee made up of its opponents. In the French chambers, on the contrary, although Monarchists and Republicans have stood opposed in most matters, the most significant divisions have been into groups or factions, representing successive shades of opinion from the extreme Right to the extreme Left; and successive cabinets have differed from each other by shades, cabinet crises often bringing about a modification of the composition of the ministry rather than a complete change. Nearly all cabinets have been Republican, now approaching the Right Centre, now shifting further to the Left.

It will not be necessary to take up the history of each of these cabinets. That of M. Dufaure was much occupied with the question of amnesty for persons engaged in the insurrection of the Commune, with questions respecting the privileges of Catholic universities, etc.

The President's Appeal to the Country. — Few events had marked the history of the Simon ministry when, suddenly, in May, 1877, the President of the Republic demanded its resignation. Much influenced of late by Monarchist advisers, he had concluded that the moderate Republican cabinets did not possess the confidence of the chambers, and, feeling that the responsibility of maintaining the repose and security of France rested upon him, had resolved, rather than allow the management of the affairs of the country to fall into the hands of M. Gambetta and the Radicals, to appoint a ministry of conservatives, trusting that the country would ratify the step.

A ministry was organized under the Duke of Broglie, and the Chamber of Deputies was first prorogued, and then, with the consent of the Senate, dissolved. The death of M. Thiers in September caused a great national demonstration in honor of that patriotic statesman, "the liberator of the territory." The result of the ensuing elections was a complete victory for the Republicans, who secured nearly three-fourths of the seats in the new Chamber. The Marshal, appointing a ministry composed of adherents of his policy

who were not members of the Assembly, attempted to make head against the majority, but was forced in December to yield to the will of the people and of their representatives, and to recall M. Dufaure and the moderate Republicans to office. The year 1878 therefore passed off quietly, being especially distinguished by the great success of the universal exhibition held at Paris under the auspices of the government, and by the successful participation of the latter in the negotiations of the Congress of Berlin. France was able to pursue on that occasion a policy of disinterestedness and mediation; M. Waddington, its representative, exercising an especial care for the interests of Greece.

Resignation of Marshal MacMahon. — At the beginning of 1879 elections were held in pursuance of the provisions of the constitution, for the renewal of a portion of the Senate. That body being considerably more conservative than the Chamber of Deputies, Republicans had looked forward to these elections with much anticipation, meanwhile waiting with patience, under the counsels of M. Gambetta, who had grown increasingly moderate in policy. Elections were held for the filling of eighty-two seats. Of these the Republicans won sixty-six, the Monarchist groups sixteen. This was a loss of forty-two seats on the part of the latter, and assured to the Republicans a full control of the Senate. It had also the effect of definitively establishing the Republic as the permanent government of France. The Republican leaders therefore resolved to insist upon extensive changes in the personnel of the Council of State and the judiciary body, both of which, in spite of all the changes of recent years, still remained principally composed of members of the reactionary parties. When they also proposed to make extensive changes in other departments, Marshal MacMahon, who foresaw the impossibility of maintaining harmonious relations with the cabinets which the Republican majority would now demand, took these new measures as a pretext, and, on January 30, 1879, resigned the office of President of the Republic. On the same day the Senate and Chamber, united in National Assembly, elected as his successor, for the constitutional term of seven years, M. Jules Grévy, president of the Chamber of Deputies, a moderate Republican who enjoyed general respect. M. Grévy was seventy-one years old. M. Gambetta was chosen to succeed him as president of the Chamber. The cabinet was remodelled, M.

Dufaure resigning his office and being succeeded by M. Waddington.

M. Ferry's Education Bill. — In the reorganized ministry one of the most prominent of the new members was M. Jules Ferry, its minister of education. He soon brought forward two measures which excited violent discussion: the one dealing with the regulation of superior education, the other with the constitution of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction. The object of the latter was to exclude from the Council the ecclesiastical element. The former, also intended to put education beyond ecclesiastical control, confined academic degrees to candidates from State universities, and prohibited the use of the title university or faculty by any but State institutions; its famous Clause 7 also provided that no person should be allowed to direct a public or private educational establishment of any kind, or to teach therein, if he belonged to a non-authorized religious community. This provision was directed especially against the Jesuits and their twenty-seven colleges; but twenty-six other communities would be affected, and an aggregate of nearly two thousand teachers.

The former of these bills passed through both houses, as did a measure for the reform of the Council of State. But Clause 7 of the bill respecting universities excited vigorous and extensive opposition. The bill passed the Chamber, but was delayed in the Senate until the new session, when (November 27, 1879) the chambers reassembled, not at Versailles, but at Paris. Another change in the aspect of affairs resulted from the death in Zululand of the young Prince Louis, son and heir of Napoleon III. This event weakened the hopes of the Bonapartists, and later divided their suffrages between two candidates, — Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome Bonaparte, and Prince Victor, son of Prince Napoleon. In March, 1880, the Senate rejected the bill respecting universities. The ministry, now composed of members of the "pure Left" (instead of a mixture of these and the Left Centre) under M. de Freycinet, resolved to enforce the existing laws against non-authorized congregations. The Jesuits were warned to close their establishments; the others, to apply for authorization. Failing to carry out these decrees, M. de Freycinet was forced to resign, and was succeeded as prime minister by M. Ferry, under whose orders the decrees were executed in October

and November, establishments of the Jesuits and others, to the number of nearly three hundred, being forcibly closed and their inmates dispersed. Laws were also passed in the same year and in 1881 for the extension of public education, and a general amnesty proclaimed for persons engaged in the insurrection of the commune.

Tunisian Expedition; Elections of 1881.—In April and May, 1881, on pretext of chastising tribes on the Tunisian frontier of Algeria, who had committed depredations on the French territories in Northern Africa, a military force from Algeria entered Tunis, occupied the capital, and forced the Bey to sign a treaty by which he put himself and his country under the protectorate of France. The French were given the right to maintain a military occupation of the country, to manage its foreign relations and its finances, and virtually to govern it for the Bey, at the same time agreeing to maintain existing treaties with foreign powers. These results of the expedition were received without protest by most of the powers; the Porte, however, asserted suzerainty over the province, and Italy was profoundly incensed, and perhaps permanently alienated from the Republic.

It was ardently desired by M. Gambetta, now the recognized leader of the Republicans, that the impending elections for the Chamber of Deputies, whose four years' term was now expiring, should take place, not by the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, but by the *scrutin de liste*, i.e. on a general ticket for each department; but this proposition was rejected by the Senate. The elections, in August, resulted in a Chamber composed of 467 Republicans, 47 Bonapartists, and 43 Royalists, whereas its predecessor had consisted of 387 Republicans, 81 Bonapartists, and 61 Royalists. In response to a general demand, M. Gambetta became prime minister on the meeting of the new Assembly in the autumn, with a cabinet composed mostly of men somewhat obscure, among whom the most conspicuous was M. Paul Bert, appointed minister of education and worship, whose appointment to that position scandalized a large portion of the nation, because of his well-known anti-religious sentiments.

To the disappointment occasioned by the composition of M. Gambetta's cabinet was soon added a disappointment at its failure to achieve the great things which had been expected of that statesman. He put forward an elaborate



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programme of constitutional revision, including the introduction of election to the Chamber by *scrutin de liste*, of election of all senators for nine years, none for life, and of a representation of communes proportional to their population, in the bodies choosing senators. But his measures failed to receive the support of the Chamber, and he was forced to resign after having held the office of prime minister but two months and a half (January, 1882). On the last day of that year M. Gambetta, still the most eminent French statesman of the time, died at Paris, aged forty-four.

Egyptian Affairs; the Princes. — The Khedive of Egypt had in 1879 entrusted the supervision of the financial administration of his country to two controllers, appointed by England and France respectively, in the interests of the citizens of those countries who were holders of Egyptian bonds. Difficulties arising in 1882 between the Khedive and his council, led by Arabi Pasha, England and France determined to intervene in behalf of the threatened interests of their subjects in that country. But after many negotiations among the powers of Europe, the military intervention was carried out by England alone, and France was obliged not only to remain aloof, but to submit to the abolition of the Dual Control.

The death of Gambetta aroused the Monarchists to renewed activity. Prince Napoleon issued a violent manifesto, and was arrested. Bills were brought in which were designed to exclude from the soil of France and of French possessions all members of houses formerly reigning in France. Finally, however, after a prolonged contest, a decree suspending the dukes of Aumale, Chartres, and Alençon from their functions in the army was signed by the President. Some months later, August, 1883, the Count of Chambord ("Henry V.") died at Frohsdorf; by this event the elder branch of the house of Bourbon became extinct, and the claims urged by both Legitimists and Orleanists were united in the person of the Count of Paris.

Madagascar and Tonquin. — During the year 1882 alleged encroachments upon French privileges and interests in the northwestern portion of Madagascar had embroiled France in conflict with the Hovas, the leading tribe of that island. The French admiral commanding the squadron in the Indian Ocean demanded in 1883 the placing of the northwestern part of the island under a French protectorate, and

the payment of a large indemnity. These terms being refused by the queen of the Hovas, Tamatave was bombarded and occupied, and desultory operations continued until the summer of 1883, when an expedition of the Hovas resulted in a signal defeat of the French. A treaty was then negotiated, in accordance with which the foreign relations of the island were put under the control of France, while the queen of Madagascar retained the control of internal affairs and paid certain claims.

A treaty executed in 1874 between the emperor of Annam and the French had conceded to the latter a protectorate over that country. His failure completely to carry out his agreement, and the presence of Chinese troops in Tonquin, were regarded as threatening the security of the French colony of Cochin China. A small expedition sent out under Commander Rivière to enforce the provision of the treaty was destroyed at Hanoi. Reinforcements were sent out. But the situation was complicated by the presence of bands of "Black Flags," brigands said to be unauthorized by the Annam government, and by claims on the part of China to a suzerainty over Tonquin. A treaty was made with Annam in August, 1883, providing for the cession of a province to France, and the establishment of a French protectorate over Annam and Tonquin. This, however, did not by any means wholly conclude hostilities in that province. Sontay was taken from the Black Flags in December, and Bacninh occupied in March, 1884.

War with China.—The advance of the French into regions over which China claimed suzerainty, and which were occupied by Chinese troops, brought on hostilities with that empire. In August, 1884, Admiral Courbet destroyed the Chinese fleet and arsenal at Foo-chow; in October he seized points on the northern end of the island of Formosa, and proclaimed a blockade of that portion of the island. On the frontier between Tonquin and China the French gained some successes, particularly in the capture of Lang-Sôn; yet the climate, and the numbers and determination of the Chinese troops, rendered it impossible for them to secure substantial results from victories. Finally, after a desultory and destructive war, a treaty was signed in June, 1885, which arranged that Formosa should be evacuated, that Annam should in future have no diplomatic relations except through France, and that France should have virtually com-

plete control over both it and Tonquin, though the question of Chinese suzerainty was left unsettled. The French then had the difficult task of pacifying Annam and Tonquin, and keeping order within them. Altogether it was not felt that the expeditions against Madagascar, Annam, and China had achieved brilliant success. They had, moreover, been a source of much expense to France; at first popular, they finally caused the downfall of the ministry which ordered them.

Revision of the Constitution. — That ministry, the ministry of M. Jules Ferry, which had come into office in February, 1883, had signalized its advent to power by the passage of a law suspending for three months the irremovability of judges. That measure had been resolved upon in order that the judicial body, still composed, in far the greater proportion, of Monarchists, might be brought into harmony with the Republican government. The strength of the Royalists, it should be added, seemed to be increasing in 1884, by reason of important efforts expended upon the organization of the party.

The Ferry ministry remained in power an unusual length of time, — a little more than two years. Its principal achievement in domestic affairs consisted in bringing about the revision of the constitution, which, framed by the Versailles Assembly in 1875, was felt by many to contain an excessive number of Monarchical elements. According to the provisions of the constitution, revision or amendment of it could only be carried out by the National Assembly or Congress, a joint assembly of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, convened for the purpose. Such a congress, restricted in advance to a partial revision, was assembled in August, 1884, at Versailles, but accomplished only a few changes: a restriction of the Senate's right to vote the budget or to interfere with its appropriation, and a provision forbidding any future revision to be carried to the extent of abrogating the republican form of government. Soon after, however, the two houses passed an important law altering the composition of the Senate. It was arranged that hereafter no senators should be chosen for life; if a vacancy should occur by the death of one of the seventy-five members who had been so chosen, his successor should be chosen to serve nine years, like other senators. Moreover, whereas in the departmental electing bodies every commune in France, whether large or small, had by the law of 1875 been given

but one vote, a representation more nearly proportioned to population was now accorded. In 1885, after the fall of the Ferry cabinet, a law was passed providing for *scrutin de liste*; each department being entitled to a number of deputies proportioned to the number of its citizens, the deputies for each were to be chosen on a general or departmental ticket. In the same year a law was passed declaring ineligible to the office of President of the Republic, senator or deputy, any prince of families formerly reigning in France. — The session of 1885 was marked also by the imposition of protective duties on cereal and meat products imported into France; the financial policy of France is now completely one of protection.

The Elections of 1885. — The partial elections to the Senate at the beginning of this year resulted in a Republican gain of twenty-two in that body. But when, in the middle of the year, the time approached for the election of a new Chamber of Deputies, it was found that the dissensions between the different groups of the Republican party, and especially the wide divergence between the Opportunists or Moderates and the Radicals, threatened to bring about a large increase in the number of the reactionary deputies. At the first elections in October, this in fact resulted. But the number of the second elections necessary being large, the Republicans united their forces, and, carrying most of these elections, maintained their majority. The new Chamber consisted of about three hundred and eighty Republicans and about two hundred Monarchists; a much larger part of the Republican body than hitherto consisted of Radicals and Socialists. In December the National Assembly re-elected M. Grévy President of the Republic.

Party Contests; Expulsion of the Princes. — In the ministry led by M. de Freycinet which held office during the year 1886, great prominence was attained by the minister of war, General Boulanger, whose management of his department and political conduct won him great popularity. The ministry contained an unusual number of Radicals, and was involved in frequent conflicts with both the followers of M. Ferry and the Monarchists. These latter have in recent years often joined with the extreme Radicals in attacks upon Republican ministers. The political situation was still further disturbed by the prevalence of strikes and socialistic agitations.

The increasing activity of the agents of the Monarchist party, the strength which that party had shown in the elections of the preceding year, and the demonstrations which attended the marriage of the daughter of the Count of Paris to the crown prince of Portugal, incited the Republican leaders to more stringent measures against the princes of houses formerly reigning in France. The government was intrusted by law with discretionary power to expel them all from France, and definitely charged to expel actual claimants of the throne and their direct heirs. The Count of Paris and his son the Duke of Orleans, Prince Napoleon and his son Prince Victor, were accordingly banished by presidential decree in June, 1886. General Boulanger struck off from the army-roll the names of all princes of the Bonaparte and Bourbon families. The Duke of Aumale, indignantly protesting, was also banished; in the spring of 1889 he was permitted to return.

Meanwhile, within the Republican ranks, dissensions increased. The popularity of General Boulanger became more and more threatening to the cabinets of which he was a member. An agitation in his favor, conducted with much skill, caused fear lest he were aspiring to a military dictatorship of France. The illegal arrest of a French commissary of police on the German side of the Alsatian frontier produced strained relations with Germany, which at one time seemed likely, so warlike was the attitude of General Boulanger, to provoke a hostile collision. Soon, however, pacific counsels prevailed; General Boulanger was forced to resign, and, in order to check the constant agitations and demonstrations in his favor, was removed to a military command in the South. A law equalizing military service by making a three years' term compulsory upon all was passed.

Fall of M. Grévy; Election of M. Carnot. — The Republican party and the parliamentary régime in France were becoming constantly more and more discredited, by reason of constant dissensions, of frequent cabinet changes, and of consequent instability of policy and executive inefficiency. To these evils of factiousness and weakness was now added a series of damaging scandals. The use of public office as a reward for partisan services lay at the bottom of many of these; in others, there were evidences of more direct and flagrant corruption. Finally, in the autumn of 1887, an inquiry into the conduct of General Caffarel, deputy to the

commander-in-chief, accused of selling decorations, implicated M. Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of M. Grévy, who was alleged to have undertaken to obtain appointments to office and lucrative contracts in return for money. M. Grévy's unwise attempts to shield his son-in-law brought about his own fall. The chambers, determined to force his resignation, refused to accept any ministry proposed by him. After much resistance and irritating delays he submitted, and resigned the presidency of the Republic on December 2, 1887.

On the next day the houses met in National Assembly at Versailles to choose the successor of M. Grévy. The members of the Right voted for Generals Saussure and Appert. The most prominent candidates for the Republicans were M. Ferry and M. de Freycinet; the former, however, was unpopular with the country. The followers of both, finding their election impossible, resolved to cast their votes for M. Sadi Carnot, a Republican of the highest integrity and universally-respected. M. Carnot, a distinguished engineer, grandson of the Carnot who had, as minister of war, organized the victories of the armies of the Revolution, was accordingly elected President of the French Republic. The elections for the partial renewal of the Senate in January, 1888, resulted in slight Republican losses. A Radical cabinet under M. Floquet soon took office.

General Boulanger.—The chief difficulties encountered by the cabinet arose out of the active propagandism exercised in behalf of General Boulanger. The extraordinary popularity of this military hero who had never held an important command in war, seemed not to be reduced by his removal to the retired list for insubordination. Thus made eligible to the Chamber of Deputies, General Boulanger began actively to contest vacant seats. Returned first for the department of Dordogne, and then by an enormous majority for the important department of Nord, he seemed to have entered on the direct path leading to military dictatorship. A duel in which he was wounded by M. Floquet did not injure his cause. Having resigned his seat, he was triumphantly elected on one and the same day by the three departments of Nord, Charente-Inférieure, and Somme. Finally, in January, 1889, after a most exciting contest in Paris itself, between the upholders of the parliamentary system and the Boulangists, with whom the Royalists and many of the Radicals made common cause, he was by an enormous

majority elected as a representative of the department of the Seine. The only programme which he put forward was a demand of revision of the constitution and dissolution of the Chamber; his name therefore became the rallying-point of those who were hostile to the parliamentary system, or to the Republican government in its present form. Alarmed both by his singular popularity and by his political intrigues, the government instituted a prosecution of him before the High Court of Justice; upon this he fled from the country, and the dangers of the agitation in his favor were, for the time at least, quieted.

1889. — On May 5, 1889, the one-hundredth anniversary of the assembly of the States-General was celebrated at Versailles. On the next day, President Carnot formally opened the Universal Exhibition at Paris, the greatest of the world's fairs which have been held in that city. The speeches which were made on these occasions congratulated the nation on the material progress of the past hundred years, expressed the national gratitude for the beneficent results of the Revolution, and in spite of the difficulties of the political situation, gave utterance to high hopes and patriotic confidence in the future of France.

Constitutional Changes. — Early in the year the Floquet ministry proposed the abolition of *scrutin de liste*, as giving too great an advantage to the Boulangists, and a return to *scrutin d'arrondissement*, which had been abandoned in the revision of 1885. The bill was passed by a vote in the Chamber of the entire Left against the combined Right, and by a very large majority in the Senate. The ministry, having pledged itself to a revision of the constitution, next brought forward a comprehensive Revision Bill; but the Chamber refused to take the bill into consideration, and the ministry resigned. M. Tirard, senator from the department of the Seine, formed a new ministry, which gave its attention to industrial matters. Both the ministry and the President of the Republic devoted themselves to making the Exhibition a means of restoring confidence in the Republic. During the existence of this ministry, the Army Bill, which had long been under discussion, was finally passed. Its chief provision was the substitution of three years' service in the army instead of five. Students of the liberal professions and priests were to serve one year. A law against multiple candidatures was also passed, forbidding a citizen to present

himself for more than one seat in the Chamber of Deputies. The reason for this enactment was the dangerous use of multiple candidature made by General Boulanger.

Trial of Boulanger.—The trial of Boulanger before the High Court of Justice, begun April 8, dragged slowly through the summer. In June, an enormous quantity of papers belonging to the general was found in a draper's shop. These papers not only revealed the plots of General Boulanger, but also implicated a number of government officials. Finally (August 12, 14) General Boulanger was found guilty of conspiracy against the State, and of misappropriation of public money, and was condemned, in his absence, to imprisonment for life. With him were condemned as accomplices Count Dillon and M. Henri de Rochefort.

Elections of 1889.—It was felt that upon the elections of 1889 largely depended the fate of the Republic. In the midsummer elections for the renewal of one-half the *Conseils-Généraux* the Republicans held their own, despite the activity of the Boulangists. The fugitive general offered himself in as many as 120 cantons, but was elected in only 12. The elections for the Chamber of Deputies were set for September 22. All parties were unusually active in the canvass. The first ballot showed the strength of the Republicans, and the second or supplementary elections announced a Republican triumph, giving 365 seats to the Republicans as against 211 to all shades of opposition. Among the losses, however, which the Republican party had to deplore was that arising from the defeat of M. Jules Ferry. As many as 282 deputies were elected for the first time. On the reassembling of the Chamber (November 16), M. Floquet was elected its president on the first ballot.

The Tariff Question.—The most important question which came before the Chambers in 1890 was the settlement of the tariff. In 1892 all the commercial treaties between France and other nations would expire, and it became necessary to determine what the future policy of France should be. A customs committee, fifty-five in number, was constituted to examine the question. The protectionists secured a two-thirds majority of this committee. Shortly afterward the cabinet was reorganized under the leadership of M. de Freycinet, and a ministerial programme of economical and social reforms was laid before the Chambers. The discussions upon the tariff and other economic

measures continued during the sessions of 1890 and 1891. Finally at the beginning of 1892 a bill was passed placing high duties upon nearly all imports. A special tariff with much lower rates was constructed to offer to nations which would accord to France reciprocal advantages. In view of the increase of revenue expected from the tariff, railroad fares were reduced twenty-five per cent. and reductions in certain taxes were also made.

Labor Agitation.—Elections for the renewal of one-third of the Senate occurred in January, 1891, and resulted in giving 72 out of 82 seats to the Republicans. Among the number elected was M. Ferry, returned for the Department of the Vosges. About the same time a call for a national loan of 869½ millions of francs resulted in subscriptions of sixteen and one-half times that amount. Whilst the Government thus perceived that it no longer need have any serious fear of Boulangism, it found a cause for no little apprehension in the disorders accompanying the regularly recurring May-day labor demonstrations. They were a means by which the anarchists and other enemies of the government could too easily affect public opinion. In 1890 an effort was made in most European cities to organize a grand international strike for May 1. In Paris the energetic precautions of M. Constans, Minister of the Interior, had prevented any serious trouble, but in the north of France the strikes and disturbances had assumed considerable proportions. In 1891 strikes occurred on a still larger scale. In many places conflicts between the authorities and the crowd took place. At Fourmies there was a fight between the soldiery and the mob, and several were killed. Large numbers were arrested. Whilst the government showed a determination to preserve order, it recognized the importance of the movement, and created (January, 1891) a Labor Bureau to collect and distribute trustworthy information on labor questions. Bills were passed regulating the conditions under which women and children should labor in factories.

The Parties.—The death of Prince Napoleon at Rome (March 17, 1891) brought about the collapse of the Imperialists. Refusing to the last to be reconciled to his son, Prince Victor, he named his second son, Prince Louis, as his successor; but the refusal of this prince to antagonize his brother's rights left the fatal division unhealed. The Royalists seized this opportunity to reorganize, hoping to attract

to their standard all the anti-Republicans. The Count of Paris chose Count d'Haussonville as leader of the party, and an active propagandism was begun. It was only too successful, and the government put a stop to it. A few months later (September 30) General Boulanger, dishonored and forsaken, committed suicide near Brussels.

Church and State; Fall of the Freycinet Cabinet. — Another change in the aspect of affairs was produced by the attitude of the Catholics. Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, had urged all Catholics to rally to the Republic. The result was the formation in 1891 of a Catholic and Conservative party, professing, however, complete freedom on the part of the Catholics. On the other hand, the French cardinals and bishops issued a severe criticism of the Republic, making complaints against the education and military laws, and accusing the Republic of a persistent antagonism to the Church. The Pope, nevertheless, came out boldly against the cardinals, and counselled adhesion to the Republic. At the beginning of 1892 a bill was brought forward by the ministry to abolish the licenses necessary for associations, and to require only that a copy of the regulations be delivered to the magistrates. On the ground that it was a step toward the separation of Church and State, the bill was defeated, and M. Freycinet and his colleagues resigned. The ministry which followed under M. Loubet, a moderate Republican, declared itself not commissioned to prepare a separation of the Churches and the State. The Minister of Public Instruction, M. Bourgeois, brought forward a proposal to make university faculties independent organic bodies instead of mere administrative officers subject to the ministry. But the proposal met with obstructions in the Senate, chiefly from an unwillingness to leave to the government the selection of the towns which should be made seats of learning, and was withdrawn.

The Panama Canal Scandal. — In 1880 M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the promoter of the Suez Canal, organized the Panama Canal Company, for the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Shares were largely subscribed for by people of all classes in France, and in addition large loans were asked for from time to time from the government. Notwithstanding these enormous loans the company came to bankruptcy. It transpired that in obtaining these loans deception and corruption had been practised

on a huge scale. Baron Reinach, the chief agent of this corruption, died in November, 1892, under suspicious circumstances. A large number of public officers were also implicated. Charles Baihaut, Minister of Public Works in 1886, had demanded 1,000,000 francs for his support of a lottery loan, and had received 375,000 francs. Charges were preferred against the directors of the company for misappropriating its funds and violating the laws governing public companies, and against a number of other persons for giving or receiving bribes. MM. Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps were condemned to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 3000 francs. Charles Baihaut was condemned to five years' imprisonment, with civil degradation, and a fine of 750,000 francs. Others received lesser sentences. The sentence against the aged engineer was never carried out, for he lay paralyzed and died a few months later. During the Panama investigation the cabinet had twice been remodelled. The Loubet ministry had given way to one under M. Ribot, which in its turn meekly succumbed. A ministry formed by M. Dupuy, which took office in April, 1893, concerned itself chiefly with laws restricting foreign immigration.

Dahomey. — During 1890 and 1891 frequent raids were made by the Dahomeyans upon Porto Novo, a town on the west coast of Africa, which has been under French protection since 1884. The native villages were destroyed, and hundreds of people carried off to slavery or for sacrifice. The government at last determined to put a stop to these raids. In May, 1892, an expedition was sent out under Colonel Dodds, which, starting from Porto Novo in August, gradually drove the Dahomey warriors back. After several severe conflicts in November, Abomey, the capital, was taken. During the following year desultory operations were carried on, and in January, 1894, Behanzin, the king of Dahomey, surrendered. The people had for the most part already submitted.

Elections of 1893; the "Russian Truce." — During 1892 a law was passed extending the term of the next Chamber to 1898, in such manner that the elections might occur in the spring instead of in the autumn as hitherto. No national questions were prominent in the elections of 1893, though personal and local contests were sharp enough. All members of the Cabinet were elected at the first ballot (August 20), and the final elections gave the Republicans a large majority. A noticeable feature of the new body was the

large number of Socialists. The Right had almost disappeared. Owing to increase in population the number of deputies was increased from 576 to 581.

For two or three years an alliance of France with Russia had been talked of. In the summer of 1891 the northern squadron, under Admiral Gervais, had visited Cronstadt, and the Czar had visited the admiral's ship, and had listened with uncovered head to the French hymn of liberty. The French had responded by playing the Russian national air. In October, 1893, the Russian squadron came to Toulon, and received the honors of the nation. President Carnot visited the fleet at Toulon, and on the same day the Czar paid a visit to two French ships at Copenhagen. The press of the time spoke at length of the influence which the friendship or league of the two nations would have in giving France a larger voice in the affairs of Europe and in promoting peace. During the stay of the Russian officers in Paris, Marshal MacMahon died, and was buried with state honors.

Ministry of Casimir-Périer. — The new Chamber met on November 14, and re-elected as President M. Casimir-Périer, who had succeeded M. Floquet in the spring session. The Radical candidate was M. Henri Brisson. The Dupuy ministry laid before the Chambers an anti-socialistic programme, but failed to receive a vote of confidence. After repeated failures a ministry was formed by M. Casimir-Périer; M. Dupuy succeeded to the presidency of the Chamber. Only one member of this ministry had served in the preceding, — a thing unusual in France.

In 1892 several attempts were made by anarchists against various magistrates by exploding bombs at or near their residences. In these explosions several persons were killed. An anarchist called Ravachol was convicted of some of these outrages and guillotined. In May, 1893, repetitions of these outrages occurred. On December 9 an anarchist named Auguste Vaillant entered the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies and attempted to hurl a bomb at the President. The bomb struck the cornice and exploded, wounding a great many people and among them Vaillant himself. With admirable presence of mind M. Dupuy called the house to order, and the members proceeded with business almost without interruption. A month later Vaillant was convicted of attempted murder and executed. The ministry seized the opportunity to secure the passage of bills giving to the gov-

ernment the power of imprisonment for the propagation of anarchistic doctrines, and applying to anarchists the same penalties as to ordinary criminals. Notwithstanding legislation and precautions there was an epidemic of bombs in Paris in the spring of 1894.

The senatorial elections which occurred in January resulted in returning most of the senators whose terms had expired. The Royalists lost eight seats. The most important financial measure which the ministry secured was the plan of M. Burdeau, Minister of Finance, for converting the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. government stock into $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents., by which the next budget would be lightened by 68,000,000 francs. To this ministry is due also the erection of the colonial administration into a separate ministry. It had been first an under-secretaryship of the Ministry of Marine, then of Commerce, and again of Marine. Shortly afterward the ministry was defeated by Radical influences, and once more M. Dupuy became prime minister and M. Casimir-Périer President of the Chamber.

Assassination of President Carnot; Election of M. Casimir-Périer. — On June 24, as President Carnot was driving through Lyons, to which city he was paying a formal visit, an Italian anarchist named Santo Caserio rushed out of the crowd and stabbed him. With a cry of "Vive l'anarchie," the assassin attempted to escape, but was captured, and was with difficulty saved from the vengeance of the populace. That night President Carnot died. The whole world was horrified at the outrage. Since his election to the presidency, President Carnot, by his firmness in matters of government and his statesmanlike attitude on public questions, had won universal respect. Three days after the assassination the Senate and Chamber met in National Assembly at Versailles to choose a President, Carnot's successor. The moderate Republicans desired M. Casimir-Périer, whose popularity and strong qualities as a leader made him a desirable candidate. The Radical candidate was M. Henri Brisson. On the first ballot M. Casimir-Périer received an overwhelming majority over all his opponents. In his message to the Chamber on July 3, the President-Elect spoke of the regularity with which the transmission of power had been made as a testimony to the value of republican institutions.

Retirement of M. Casimir-Périer. — The new President and his premier soon found themselves violently opposed

by Radicals and Socialists, especially the latter, who poured forth a torrent of accusation against them. Finally, the exposure of corruption connected with certain railroad franchises in which some of the President's friends were implicated brought about the downfall of the ministry. The difficulty of forming a new ministry, and the coolness of the nation toward him, so different from its attitude toward President Carnot, decided President Casimir-Périer to retire. Accordingly his resignation was placed before the Chamber and Senate, and on January 17 the National Assembly met to elect his successor. The principal candidates were M. Henri Brisson, President of the Chamber, M. Félix Faure, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau. At second ballot M. Waldeck-Rousseau retired in favor of M. Faure, who was accordingly elected by 460 votes as against 361 for M. Brisson. An attempt was made to form a Radical ministry under M. Bourgeois, but this having failed, a ministry of Moderates was formed by M. Ribot. That which especially marked the entrance to office of President Faure and the Ribot ministry was a bill giving amnesty for political offences of members of the press and clergy. M. Henri Rochefort, condemned for his connection with Boulangism, at once returned to France.

Madagascar. — Infractions by the Hovas of the treaty of 1883 led to the despatch in October, 1894, of a demand for complete control of affairs in Madagascar by the French government. This ultimatum being rejected, an expedition was sent out in April, under General Duchesne, to bring the Hova government to terms. Tamatave had already been occupied (December 10, 1894) by French forces in the island. The French slowly made their way toward the capital, meeting with little resistance, though their numbers were reduced one-half by disease. On September 30, 1895, General Duchesne entered Antananarivo, and the queen at once made peace. A French protectorate of the island was definitely established.

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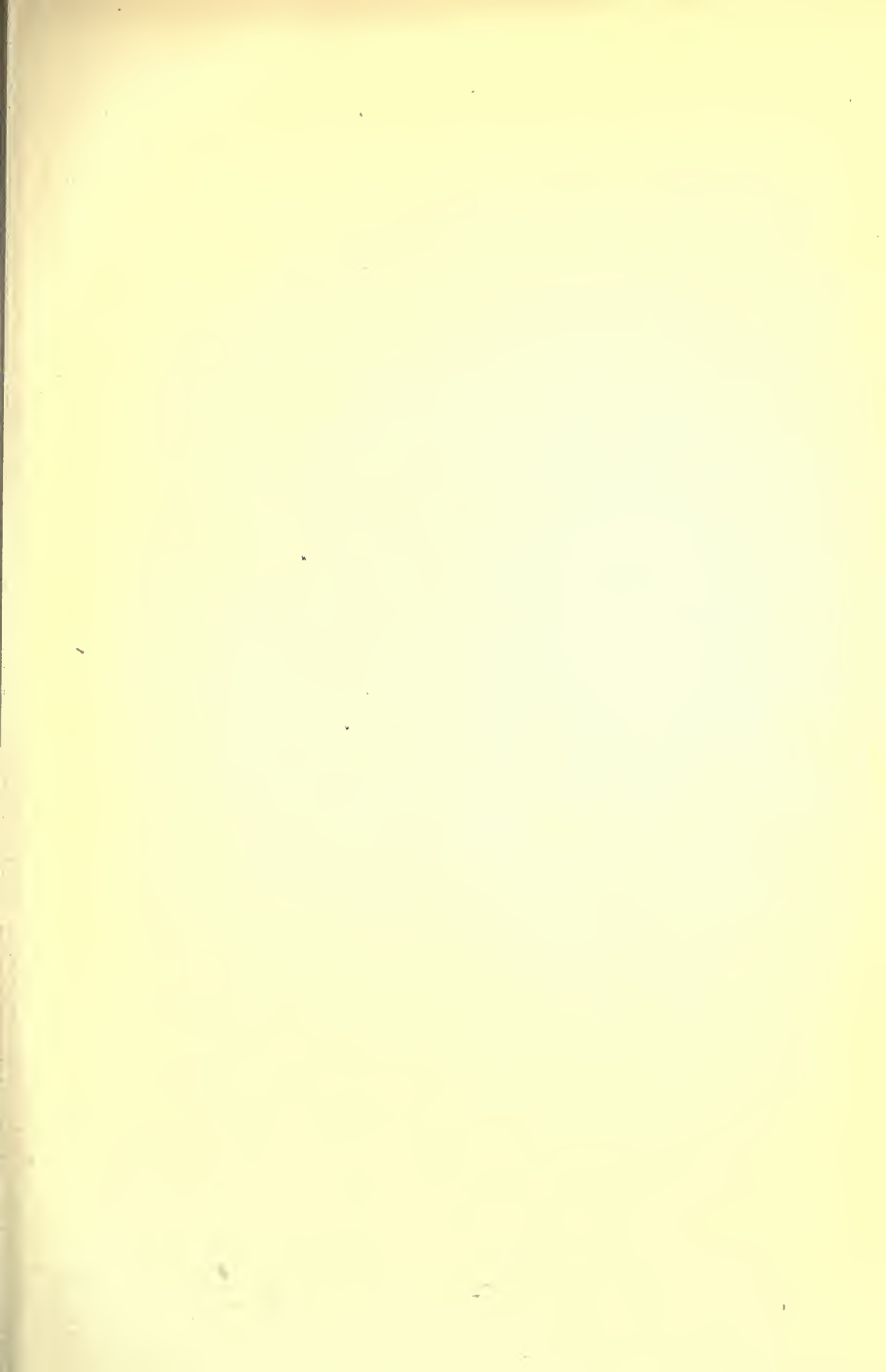
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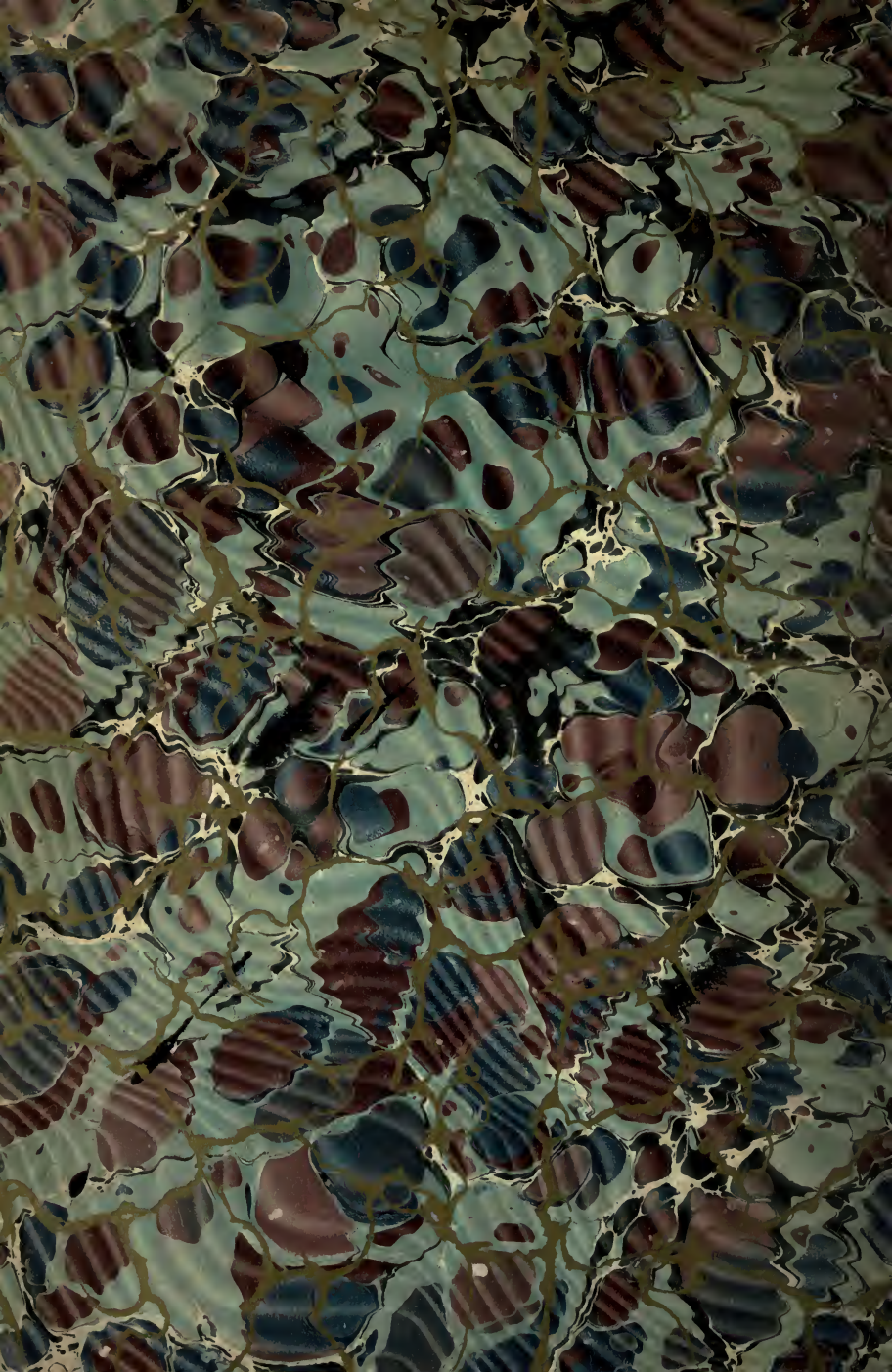
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